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SOME ASPECTS OF BEHAVIOR AND SOCIAL GROUPS

BY
FREDERICK ARCHIBALD DEWEY
Sometime University Fellow in Sociology

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE
FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

NEW YORK
1915

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I ACKNOWLEDGE a debt for an interest that I was quite innocent of when I first happened into the lectures of Franklin H. Giddings, and for all that I have since gained. To other teachers and to my father and mother I am deeply indebted, as I am to Jennings' book, *Behavior of the Lower Organisms*, and to students in sociology this past half year.

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NOTE ON REFERENCES: References are inserted in parentheses in the text. Capital letters refer to items in the bibliography; Arabic numerals to pages of books; small Roman numerals to chapters of books. If no pages or chapters are anywhere referred to, no special page or chapter is of peculiar relevance.

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I. THE IMPORTANCE OF ACTION

I. WITH RESPECT TO THINGS

WHAT things or people do is of importance. What they are matters little. In fact, a thing is what it does. A person, still more, is what the person does. To say that the stone is hard is to say that the stone does certain things. It resists the passage of a piece of wood, a finger, a nail or a common gimlet. It is hard because it does the things. It has no hardness which we need regard apart from resisting the wood, or the finger or the gimlet. Possibly some people now would say, certainly the mediaeval scholastic would have said:

“The stone is hard because of the quality hardness which is in it, with which it is endowed. It is like the cow, which is a cow because of the essence cowness inherent in it, as the horse is the embodiment of horseness.”

However correct such a person may be, however much hardness may lurk between the molecules of the stone, like fairies in a wood, the fact still remains that the hardness only makes the stone resist the passage of the wood, or of the finger, or of the common kitchen gimlet. The stone may reek with hardness, every atom gummed with the essence, and yet the important thing is what the hardness does. The stone is hard because it does. Indeed, we only know it has hardness in it because it does. If it let the wood pass it would not be full of hardness. It would be full of softness. And though the stone become mud and its endowment change with the years from hardness into

softness, we only know of the passing of the hardness by what the stone does. To crowd bewildered minds with difficulties over the softness or the hardness that inheres in what the gimlet will or will not pass is unnecessary. The important thing, even for the softness and the hardness, is action.

In what the stone does lies the answer to the question :
“Are you hard?”

The test is action ; what happens, what does it do? What can it do? It resists the rain, it chips with the frost, it grits with grinding, it cracks at a blow? In answering we tell what it is and what is in it. To know what it is and what is in it we must ask :

“What will it do?”

Nor is action, doing, any less important when we come to another kind of statement about things. To be sure, hardness, firmness, sweetness, sourness, malleability, redness, green-ness, endurableness, all these are questions of action. Are less intimate things, the goodness, badness, adorableness of things also matters of behavior or action? For instance, if we say :

“That is a good broom!” what do we mean? Is the broom full of goodness, like a cow of cowness? Or do we mean that the broom in question sweeps efficiently and well, and in comparison with the general run of brooms, is endurable? What is a worthless broom? Is it one that has a lot of worthlessness in it, or is it one that will not sweep decently, that breaks, that behaves like the “very dickens?”

2. WITH RESPECT TO PEOPLE

When we come to people we ask : “Is Miss Peaches nice?” We could ask : “Does she behave nicely?” Is she clever, or does she do and say clever things? If one’s

judgment that Miss Peaches is nice is attacked one defends the judgment. And how? Does one say that Miss Peaches is nice because she is full of niceness, or does one say that she does thus and so?

3. SOCIALLY

Things and persons have their being because of what they do; in action lies the answer to the question of what they are. Often the only way to find out is to let them act. Every employer, every teacher, has to experiment in order to find out what his employees or his students "are." What the employer and the teacher find out is what the employees and the students do. Does it therefore follow that action is of social importance? What is it that has some effect socially? What is of social importance: action, or being?

There is perhaps no one more anxious to find the answer to this question than the business man. The business man has an obvious motive, he wants to sell goods. He wants to sell his goods. He wants to see to it that people buy the goods which he makes, and not those which another man makes. He wishes to affect people, and if possible in bulk. He wishes to influence the social process.

There are various methods or policies which the business man pursues in influencing the social process. One way is to make better goods than another man makes. Better goods have a tendency to sell in larger quantities, other things being equal, than worse goods. Another is to be a good friend of the purchasers, that the purchasers may buy no matter what a rival offers. Then it is well to tell the purchaser what a fine fellow he is and what a nice baby he has. Politicians and others are expert in such devices, and they are active devices. Still another way of disposing of goods is to advertise them. Where things are made in quantities, as they are today, and sold to great numbers whom the

manufacturer never sees, advertising takes the place of personal contact. It sometimes takes the place of perfection. It even keeps pennies out of the savings' bank (CFC). Advertising is one way of influencing people; it moves them to buy, is socially effective.

The question resolves itself into this:

"Is advertising effective because it is full of advertising-ness? Or is it socially important because of what it does?"

What kind of advertising fulfills its purpose? What do advertisements say or indicate?

The — Lens Company advertises a microscope that has a side fine adjustment $2\frac{1}{2}$ times finer than either the lever or prism adjustment (S). This is a dry statement. To the user of microscopes, none the less, it means that with the — Lens Company's product he can do certain things. If this were not clear to the reader of the advertisement it would make little difference what kind of a side adjustment the microscope had. So-and-So's high temperature electric furnace is advertised because it can "be safely operated at any temperature short of 1800° C, and temperatures slightly exceeding this may be obtained for any special operation without serious destructive action on the furnace parts"; and because it can resist certain fumes and do other things (S). Action is described; what the things will do is advertised. It is regarded as important.

A Pennsylvania watch concern advertises its product by showing railroad men using it—trains can be run by that particular watch, is the implication.—A New York State trunk manufacturer advertising guaranteed baggage gives photographs of his wardrobe trunk and shows by diagram where and how conveniently it will carry raincoats, shirt-waists, ladies' hats, shoes, fishing tackle, etc. A nationwide corporation advertises roofing which wears like "imperishable rock," is watertight, will not crack or split, which

will do everything, in fact, that a good roofing should do. Railroads advertise that they can transport people to certain places, the places, moreover, being of a character to offer excitement or sport or rest. A prominent automobile concern advertises by displaying pictures of its cars in many of the remote and picturesque sections of the globe. These imply naturally enough that the cars can get to the places.¹

The social importance of accomplishment is well understood by advertisers. The complaints and disappointments that come with the purchase of a product whose ability to perform has been grossly or even fraudulently overstated are not unheard-of (NYT). The experience of a manufacturer of a type of calculating machine is perhaps the most significant of all.

The company in question advertises chiefly not its machines but certain booklets about what the machines will do. Some of these booklets are expensive, but they indicate to purchasers and possible purchasers the value of the machine from the standpoint of accomplishment. At a management conference some time ago the manufacturing superintendent suggested that the company was not selling books, but machines. The advertising manager replied that the superintendent's statement was irrefutable. The superintendent then thought that it was about time to cease advertising "literature" and to advertise machines. The suggestion carried the day and the advertising department, at the expense of nearly twenty thousand dollars, prepared and published six advertisements setting forth the character of the machine itself. The advertisements were carefully designed, and were attractive. Few, if any, replies were received and the total cash receipts from the machines sold to those who replied did not reach the cost of the advertise-

¹ These may be found in nearly any of the monthly magazines.

ments. The advertising department then prepared and published six advertisements describing certain books on cost keeping, retail accounting, and kindred topics, and in one corner of the page inserted an inconspicuous notice to apply to such and such a corporation for a copy of any of the books. More machines were sold to those who replied to these advertisements than requests for information were received in answer to the six put out on the machine itself (NACS).

What a machine can do (as opposed to what the machine is) is of course distinct enough. The distinction, furthermore, is socially important. Advertising what a machine can do influences people. Advertising what the machine is does not.

4. BECAUSE IT CAN BE OBSERVED

Action, furthermore, is a wonderful thing, for it includes the range of all that can be called phenomena. None the less the wonder of action is irrelevant though its ultimate importance may be great. On the other hand the concreteness of action is pertinent. A blush is a vague thing. Its careful analysis in terms of the circulation of the blood, the alterations in microscopic muscle, the excitations in nerve cells, the displacement of other tissue by expanded capillaries, the correlated effects, chemical and physical though they be, in other parts of the body, is not a vague thing. The analysis may involve an excessive amount of work, it may bring a conception of the limits of even our present greatly extended knowledge, it may seem foolish. The analysis does two things, none the less, it supplies some definite, concrete facts which have the dignity, sincerity and honesty of approximating truth. It creates respect for thoroughness, shows that there is something genuine in extending the bounds of intelligence, in violating the

taboo, however romantic and sincere, that protects the poet's blush by burying it in the mysteries of the unknown and the inviolable.

Action, worth observing, is concrete and can be observed.

5. TO SOCIOLOGY

The contrast between what can be observed definitely and what can only be talked about, argued about, reasoned to and from, is nowhere more conspicuous than it is in the matter of the social mind. The mind at times is very vague. "It is the fact that we meet in a common continuum that makes us conscious of the need for inter-subjective adjustment. Mind, like matter, must be conceived as existing in constellations with their own continuities and their own play of parts" (AJS, 10). There is nothing vaguer. It is, to be sure, suggestive to reason, either by analogy from matter or intuitively, that mind is one great continuum in which we, as individuals, are constellations. To do so, however, proves nothing, though it be interesting.

The existence of a social mind and a body politic motivated by it, a body politic which is the expression of that mind, is not a solution but an admission of the social problem. When we assume that social will and social mind become material and assume form in certain ways, when we then baptize the ways with names which indicate fully the social or collective character of the action or of the body involved, we are no nearer understanding how the social or collective action goes on than we were at first. Everything remains abstract and exceedingly universal. Mass action (of individuals), simple coöperation, compound coöperation, a nation, are extremely general terms, and like fruit, vegetables, minerals, animals, they are clear enough. They tell nothing, however, about what coöperation is nor

about what nations are nor about how the coöperation goes on from the social side nor about what the nation is as a social thing.

The use of relatively specific terms such as mob action, revival meeting, etc., does not help because the social will manifest in mob action or in a revival meeting is not more discernible than the social will manifest in coöperation in general. To speak of the will and mind which are said to show themselves turns our attention away from the phenomena to something we can not see nor study. To study will or mind is as difficult as putting our finger on the energy which, by a figure of speech, is said to reside "in" coal. And when the difficulty with the mind and will grows into the difficulty of the social mind and social will it is great indeed.

The action, the phenomena which can be observed offer a peaceful contrast because they can be studied, compared and counted, and the question of whether or not they are "manifestations" of mind or will or not soon becomes a matter of no importance. The actions, whatever they are, are there, good, honest, clear, and reproducible.

The importance of action is then manifold. It is important because it shows what things are. It is important because it is socially effective. It is important because it can be observed and is worth observing. It is of importance because action, performances, behavior, conduct, are open to concrete treatment.

II. SOCIAL ACTION

6. SOME VIEWS OF SOCIAL ACTION: "ACTS"

UNDER an influence which makes society a symbol of the invisible, a manifestation of a social mind, emphasis in social studies has lain naturally enough on the mind. And perhaps because mind is so unspecific emphasis has lain on society, a mysterious generality which is said to exist in societies. Societies have peculiarities, society has none. The social action of society is a different thing from individual action. Social action becomes the conspicuous, the abnormal, the going on which is so glaring that the mind in it seems glaring too, or else it becomes what is not action at all, but an act.

The familiar act of the legislature, the resolution of the mass meeting or assembly, anything regarded as concrete evidence of the will of the people, or as instigated by privilege, anything which is the consequence of the efforts of more than one person, is glorified as social action.

Acts of legislatures or of congress, resolutions of assemblies, petitions of unions, of chambers of commerce, are held as examples. But they are dead, static. Dying with their passing they are not social action at all. Monuments to social action they are and remain. Statutes, statues, inscriptions, papyri, books, magazines and newspapers, buildings, boats and telegraph wires, all are alike, monuments to what has been done, or instruments in what is being done. Acts of legislatures are only pieces of paper with marks on them. Social action is alive, it is the legis-

lators, lobbyists, lawyers, office seekers, citizens, business men, stenographers, printers, and others saying and doing. The governor dipping his pen in the ink in the inkwell and taking his pen out of the ink in the inkwell and putting the point against a sheet of paper on which some one has printed something which people who know how to read recognize as words, and making some marks which are known as a signature is acting socially. An "act" remains. It has been passed, signed, it may be published, but unless some one reads it it has no more to do with present social action than has some yet undiscovered mummy in Egyptian mud.

7. SOME VIEWS OF SOCIAL ACTION: MOBS AND REVIVALS

The abnormal, unusual matters which are dubbed social action or which are cited as examples of it are the lynchings, the revivals, the armies, the mobs, the crowds, the people who, more or less at one time and one place, respond to some one stimulus. The response may be orderly. It may be a whole German army doing the goose step, or a crowd rising to cheer at a three-bagger, or it may be most disorderly, a lynching or a panic.

All such things are assuredly action. They are going on, just as long as the businesses at hand and their operations are considered. Running down a negro, tying him if necessary with ropes to a stake with some faggots under it, doing some shooting and yelling and swearing and bragging, all is action and social action, too. But so is the shivering of the guilty negro who happens to be alone and afraid in the middle of a swamp. And so is the innocent negro who is being lynched acting socially. The men who happen to believe that the innocent negro is guilty are not the only social creatures acting socially. If this were the case Louisiana, which holds a record for lynchings in 1914

(TI), would be far more renowned among sociologists than it now is.

8. SOME VIEWS OF SOCIAL ACTION: CO-OPERATION, COLLECTIVE ACTIVITY

Another type of action less spectacular, more normal, has come under the head of social action. A group busy co-operating, children sliding down hill, a woman's club settling a civic problem, a quilting-bee, or savages building a canoe, are all examples. Wherever people are concerned with some one interest or another, are thinking or feeling or believing or even doing something about that interest, social action is apparent.

The lobbyists who helped to get the duty on lime in the Dingley tariff often had talks with congressmen about the importance of a duty on lime. The Boston banking firm that was interested in the formation of a "trust" among the lime manufacturers in Maine had a great deal of business to transact in connection therewith. The fact that the duty on lime in the Dingley tariff shut out Canadian lime was of importance to many people in Maine. The fact that the trust thereupon undersold the Maine manufacturers who were not taken care of was possibly a matter of private business. The trust which sold and the people who bought the lime were the only ones directly concerned with the price of lime. That the low prices bankrupted several Maine lime producers was of social importance. That it caused the trust to lose money was also of social importance. Why? Because the trust, in its desire to recoup, cut the wages of the Americans then working in the lime quarries and about the kilns. The men struck. Through a strange coincidence Italians arrived to take their places and to work at the lower wages. In addition to the broadening social influence of Italians on the Maine Yankees,

there was a considerable financial gain by certain Boston and down East capitalists. It may be that the gain of the capitalists was a private matter, as was the loss of the wage earners whom the tariff was designed to protect. Still the Italians in Maine are to the credit side of social action.¹

9. ANOTHER VIEW OF SOCIAL ACTION : INDIVIDUAL ACTION

A difficulty arises. Where does the private activity cease? Where does the social action begin? Certainly some at least of the conversations necessary to get the Italians into Maine were private. The lobbyists doubtless had private interviews with the congressmen who were interested in a duty on lime. The Boston banking house doubtless had many private matters of business with various members of the trust, to say nothing of those who were not members. Which were social, which individual, action?

The answer is not easy to give. Indeed actions which are customarily considered to be the most private in character are frequently of the greatest social significance, affecting the lives, the living arrangements, and at times the subsequent activity of numbers. The privacy of the home has been an asset to prostitution; the privacy has secluded wife and daughters; they are sometimes even today unaware of the very existence of the institution and are at nearly all times more or less ignorant of the habits of the men with whom they come in contact. The activities of the National Association of Manufacturers had been quite private for many years until in 1913 the cumulative social effects of the "private business" transactions led to a congressional investigation of the lobbying done by the association (HR).

It seems that few individual acts are entirely without

¹ The incident was related by a resident of one of the cities in the quarry district.

social significance. Why are such things as picking one's teeth, expectorating, etc., preferably done in private? Is privacy the hall mark of social significance? Some acts are and can be performed in the fullest view; yet they seem to have the least social significance. Isolated yells of individuals at a football game, certainly at a professional baseball match, are of relatively little importance. Walking the street is socially unimportant; yet the clothes walked in, the angle of the head, the slouch of the shoulders, the kind of pavement, the step of the walker, are all social matters. This is shown by the election obligations which are sometimes liquidated by rolling a peanut with the nose for a specified distance. Or sleep is sometimes interrupted by the cold shock, even in dreams, of stepping out on the street with some essentials of clothing missing. Even a necktie or scarf, or the lack of one, is indicative socially.

Private things, like picking one's teeth, or personal things, like one's necktie, are hard to dissociate from their social aspects. Furthermore the conception of privacy is a corollary of the conception of society, for without eyes to see there would be none to hide from, without ears to hear there would be no whispers. Acts seem to be done privately because of the shame that comes of doing them publicly; they seem to be done publicly with full reference to the customs of the day.

If acts are done privately because they would spoil in the light are they therefore less social? If mushrooms grow in the dark are they therefore less vegetables? Is individual action, private or public, social action? Everything which an individual does has its social points; it either seems to be the result of contact, communication, or else it has an effect upon the action of others, and often if not invariably is the result of contact and communication with others as well.

Is it not fair to admit that any action which is the effect of social contact and life is social just as much as action which is performed with a distinct social purpose? And is it, or is it not, fair to say that every social action, whether private or not, is performed by an individual?

Whether it is fair or not social action has been consistently held to be something more than the acts of individuals. The act of the legislature, however dead, is the resultant of some myriads of individual actions. As undemonstrative as a frozen river, it is a monument to, a residue of a mass of petty or important stimuli and responses, actions and reactions. It is the consequence of a great many elements. It seems to be something more than the elements which make it up. Nothing, for example, is less the action of an individual than a black corpse, burned and riddled, somewhere in Louisiana. Yet it, like the act of the legislature, is a token, a talisman of what has gone before. And it, like the act of the legislature, is the resultant of customs, morals, mores, folkways, and of a mob.

And on the other hand nothing is more individual than the words spoken by a legislator in favor of a bill, nothing is more individual than the punching of the keys of the linotype or monotype by the printer who is setting up the bill. Nothing is more individual than the individual curses, brags, and shots of the members of the lynching mob. Nothing is perhaps less individual than the determination of a great mass of women to obtain the suffrage for their sex, and nothing is more individual than the particular things they say or do about or in connection with their determination.

To turn to the individual acts, to study them, however much they may be the result of contact with society, with people, with humans, however great may be their social effects, is to turn from the study of society as a whole,

some say. It is shunning the generality which is in all societies, it is turning to the little peculiarities in which societies differ, deserting the unseen mystery that is in all and alike in all. It is to shun the resultant bridge stress with which the engineer deals for the sake of the separate forces that make it up.

Well, why not? The engineer does not get his resultant by a revelation and then commence the very human toil of finding out the determinants. He finds out what the separate forces are, and then from them obtains their resultant, the resultant of the separate forces. How the sociologist is to do what the engineer can not do, and that is concern himself with things whose existence is even more a matter of conjecture than is the engineer's resultant stress, is not clear. The elements, the actions of the individuals in society are clear; they can be observed, described, even counted.

It is true that to turn to numbering or observing the acts of individuals (whether socially important or not, whether the result of social contact and communication or not) is not discussing society as a "whole." The justification for so doing lies in the difficulty of observing society as a "whole," and in the relative ease of observing the social side of individual behavior. The justification for so doing lies also in general scientific method, which offers ample illustration.

Newton is of course known because he formulated the laws of motion. Newton, however, did not concern himself with motion as a "whole" in matter as a "whole." The apple has ever since Newton's time had a fame above its flavor because the observation of *an* apple falling to *the* ground gave Newton the idea for which he was searching. Similarly chemistry today does not concern itself with the laws of combination and dissociation of matter as a

"whole," or even of a single element as a "whole." It deals with chemical behavior under specific circumstances; before laws are formulated specific behavior of specific quantities of specific things under specific conditions are necessary. The discovery of radium and its behavior is a familiar case in point.

To claim that sociology can be made to fulfill the desires of all by a study of the social side of individual behavior would be bravado. If the chemist studies chemical behavior under most precise circumstances, if the biologist observes what takes place under precise if less controllable conditions (MHS, viii), if the mathematician determines what is the effect of certain definite, precise, clear, single, separate and individual operations, might not a sociologist gain something by a study of the social, not economic, nor physiological, nor philanthropical, nor anthropological, but social aspects of individual performances?

And is it or is it not fair to admit that any individual action which is the result of social contact, any individual action which affects others, is an individual performance with a social aspect?

10. GROUPS ARE THE PRACTICAL SOCIAL OUTCOME OF INDIVIDUAL ACTIVITY

Reference to individual behavior has its chief value in another way, however. The social aspect of individual behavior as a possible basis of scientific observation is an abstract justification of a resort to individual behavior. More important is an illustration of the manner in which individual behavior is utilized practically. Such illustrations are not uncommon. A simple one is the United States Census.

The Census Bureau last determined the population of the United States as of April 15, 1910 (ATS, 21). The population included all the people living within an area of

enumeration. The individual behavior — acting alive — within the definite area provided the basis of the enumeration. So far as the census was concerned people were to be alive and that was all. Observation through agents and enumerators led to the rather dry total of 91,972,000 (ATS, 21) as the population of the United States. An attempt to picture all the races, ages and both sexes of the ninety-two millions would be superhuman (like picturing the social mind). Yet the ninety-two million is easily determined by the consideration of individual behavior.

A great statistical group or class of this character is not peculiarly fortunate. Any group, however large or small, is known by the action of individuals. Who belongs to Lucy Peaches' family? The Peaches' immediate kin belong. Who are they? To tell a census of the immediate kin would be necessary. It would of necessity be based on behavior. The community in which the Peaches live tells through a less official observation of behavior, and also distinguishes the kitchen maid from the Peaches in the same fashion. A club, a church, a union is known by the persons who indicate their membership through some action or behavior, paying dues, attending meetings or services, and so on.

The existence of groups, though looked at from the other end, hinges upon individual behavior. That is, nearly every individual action indicates that the actor belongs to some one or many groups. Miss Peaches' behavior shows that she is a member of the Peaches family, that she belongs to the Congregational Church, that she belongs to the group of women who dress smartly, that she is a "music-lover," that she "belongs" to whatever group, common, joint, or mutual action that she does "belong" to.

Withal what is belonging to the group but responding to some stimulus which is connected with it? The emphasis

on church attendance, irrespective of sincerity, or other practices, or belief, is an example in point. Attendance at church is held among the pious as a sign of firm religious convictions and conduct; though it is in itself a pious act, it is not always what it seems. Popular acknowledgement of this fact crops out continually in some comic weeklies (L) and in the rag-time tune: "He goes to church on Sunday, so they say he's an honest man."

To point out the social importance of individual activity from the further standpoint, that of the social group or class, is merely putting into words what is a common feature of life. It is a joke, particularly among the young, to address a friend or companion with various derogatory terms. When accompanied by a slap on the back the recipient classes the giver among the group of admirers and friends and not among enemies and detractors. The recipient is aided in so doing by further observations of small actions. The words are not said in a sneering tone of voice, the lips are not curled scornfully, the slap on the back is hearty and not a blow.

Individual behavior is useful in classifying and dealing with group activity. Individual behavior is important from the group side because it is the only precise way of knowing who belongs to a group, what the person gets from or gives to his fellow group-members, how close knit or scattered the members are, how deep-seated the activities are in the lives of the members (*i. e.*, how deep-seated the group is in the general give and take of social and sociable life). From the individual's side behavior again shows what groups the individual belongs to (with respect to what interests he and others are responding), how much the belonging is, etc.

III. INDIVIDUAL ACTION

II. BEHAVIOR

BECAUSE of the importance of individual activity it will be worth while, before considering groups and their origin and development in individual action, to stop and consider individual behavior itself, what it is, and some of its main characteristics.

We might expect individuals who are as similar as humans, who are of the same species, to behave similarly. We might expect them to act in groups, or in connection with common interests. This expectation is only slightly weakened by the fact that all individuals at birth vary more or less one from another. This expectation is still further weakened by the relatively different influences to which individuals are subjected from the moment of conception. The biologist, psychologist, anthropologist, sociologist, etc., sum up these two aspects of behavior by saying that every creature is the product of heredity and environment (MA, iv). Each person at conception receives from his parents certain qualities, attributes and capacities (TP, 16 f), which from that moment are shaped, developed, or repressed, by the surrounding world (TON, 2). What, in each person we meet, is due to inheritance, what to the course of events following conception, can not be said with certainty (TON, 3 f). The fact that both types of behavior—that due largely to heredity, that due largely to environment—exist is important, for our similarities, one to another, are in goodly number inborn, and our differences to a great extent acquired.

Certain forms of behavior, watering of the eyes, running of the nose, hungering for food, appearance of goose-flesh, are inborn. Other forms of behavior, the occasion that shall call forth tears, the height at which one holds one's fingers in greeting another person, the particular words that one utters, are acquired.

Because of the two aspects, as well as others, of behavior it is well to ask exactly what we mean by the word behavior. Is it the beating of the heart, the expansion and contraction of the lungs, the automatic and usually unfelt adjustments to food? "We speak of the behavior of the troops in the field, of the prisoner at the bar, of a dandy in the ball-room. But the chemist and the physicist often speak of the behavior of atoms and molecules, or that of a gas under changing conditions of temperature and pressure. The geologist tells us that a glacier behaves in many respects like a river, and discusses how the crust of the earth behaves under the stresses to which it is subjected. . . . When Mary, the nurse, returns with the little Miss Smiths from Master Brown's birthday party, she is narrowly questioned as to their behavior; but meanwhile their father, the professor, has been discoursing to his students on the behavior of iron filings in the magnetic field; and his son Jack, of H. M. S. *Blunderer*, entertains his elder sisters with a graphic description of the behavior of a first-class battleship in a heavy sea" (MAB, I).

Behavior generally refers to change. It refers not only to action, but to a change in action. The heart is not said to behave unless it takes to doing the unusual, to "cutting-up." The stomach does not behave unless it misbehaves, and we sometimes hear:

"Mary is a nice quiet girl, but her brother John certainly behaves like the Old Harry."

The colloquial use of behavior is useful since it indicates

that behavior is some change in action. The customary life processes, beating of the heart, flowing of the blood, breathing, cell metabolism, are not spoken of as behavior unless they depart from their usual course. Ordinary life activity then is not behavior. Some change in activity, some response to stimulus, some change from the ordinary and continual activity is behavior.

12. RESPONSE TO STIMULUS

A response to stimulus is the most precise route we have, at present, to the investigation of individual behavior. This is because individual action and activity may, by analysis, be divided up into a series of responses to stimuli, into a flow of activity. Each step or change in the activity follows or, perhaps more precisely, accompanies some change in bodily or external conditions. Both stimulus and response are a proceeding of, an alteration in the state of activity that existed before the stimulus and its response took place.

A person lying in a peaceful glade, at rest and quiet, may be day-dreaming. To external appearances there may be no behavior; the normal life activities are taking their due course. The day-dreamer's inside behavior, the flow of thoughts, ideas, hopes and desires are not apparent. The behavior is within brain and tissue, and the changing thoughts are themselves the stimuli to the changes in thought that occur. The person may be looking into the distance, that is, not looking, though the eyes are open. If all is quiet a bird, say a red-headed woodpecker, which happens to alight on a branch, may attract the day-dreamer's attention. In terms of stimulus and response the situation is put in other words. The alighting of the red-headed woodpecker on the branch is a change in the environment. That change is effective, it is a stimulus to the day-dreamer,

who responds. The response is a change as well. The eyes, which have not been focussed, focus on the bird. The thoughts change to the bird. The bird is being "attended to," attention is centered on it. If the bird had alighted suddenly and possibly noisily the day-dreamer's eyelids would perhaps have winked, the body would possibly have shuddered slightly as muscles tensed.

The essential character of stimulus and response are clear in such a situation. Both stimulus and response are a change in activity. That both stimulus and response may take place inside the brain, or in any part of the body, does not affect the character of either; nor does the going on have to be external and obvious in order to be behavior. The changes in matter and energy, in molecules and atoms, in nervous excitation and organic adjustment need lack none of the elements of behavior which are so much more apparent in positions of birds or arms or eyelids or battle-ships in storms at sea.

13. RELATIONS OF STIMULUS TO RESPONSE

The analysis of behavior into stimuli and responses does not imply that either stimulus or response has any particular efficacy for the other. Because some change in the body or the environment may be a stimulus it is not of necessity a stimulus. The bird may alight on the bough unseen; as far as the noise and color and mass changes go the situation may differ only infinitesimally from the situation postulated, where a response followed. If the day-dreamer had been asleep a response would have been unlikely. If the day-dreamer were watching a pink and purple snake on another bough a response would have been unlikely. Only effective changes, whatever they may be, imply responses.

And effective changes do not imply definite responses. The alighting bird conceivably could have caused fright.

The sudden noise, flash of color, shake of the bough might have startled a timid day-dreamer into getting up and getting up very quickly. Thoughts running along lines of danger and strange noises, as well as timidity or an excitable temperament and nervous constitution, lack of knowledge about and familiarity with the glade and county would only add to the fright.

Nor does a certain response imply a definite stimulus. It is quite obvious that if the day-dreamer had been badly startled by the woodpecker, had jumped up and looked about apprehensively, the stimulus need not have been a woodpecker. A grunt from a bear in a nearby clump of bushes or a pink and purple snake might do as much.

As a consequence it is simple to conclude that stimulus and response are not separate and unrelated things in the sense that A stimulus causes A response. They are rather related things in that the response goes with the stimulus at the particular time and place, with the conditions inside and outside the body prevailing at the moment. The size and kind and shape and character and strength and drowsiness of the responder are as much factors in the situation as the stimulus.

14. THE ACTION SYSTEM

That it is a body which is responding to a stimulus is summed up by Jennings (JLO, 300), who speaks of the action system that responds. Jennings, to be sure, discusses tiny animacules which often are too small to see with the eye. But he makes evident and clear the part in their behavior played by the shape and character of the body (JLO, 110). The form of the animal, the manner in which it swims or moves, the different types of action of which the creature is capable are all summed up in Jennings' words "action system." And while he speaks of tiny

animals living in general in water what he says of the influence of the action system on behavior is naturally as true of every animal as it is of the amoeba or paramecium. The amoeba flows around, sticking out jelly arms here, pulling them in there, incapable of haste or aggression. The paramecium is busier; it swings onward in a long spiral because it is shaped like a fat cigar with a diagonal groove on one side. As it goes forward the groove makes it go round and round in a spiral. If it backs a half length the groove changes the axis and when the paramecium proceeds again it does so towards another goal (JLO, 48).

In the case of humans it is different. We have legs and feet and toes and arms and hands and fingers and a flexible trunk, a head that nods and turns, eyelids that wink, a mouth to open, facial muscles that give expression, eyes that roll, other complications in our action system. None the less we can only do certain things, walk, sit, stand, lie, run, creep, roll, bow, lean over backwards, kneel, cough, wink, smile, gnaw, chew, blow, grasp, make noises, dilate our nostrils, raise our eyebrows, and so forth. We are fortunate that we do many of these things equally well whether we are on a steamship or in a subway. We can not fly like a bird, though we can sit in a machine that flies. We can not burrow through the ground like a mole, though we can mine and tunnel. We can not digest the organic matter in earth like an angle-worm, nor grind up grain in our bodies like a chicken nor hibernate in winter like a bear, nor do many other things that are organically impossible.

Emphasizing our action system emphasizes these facts and serves another purpose. The similarity in the action systems of all persons is one of the general bases of group action and activity. To recognize the action system, its resources and its limitations does not solve all the difficulties, does not tell why at one moment we respond in one

fashion to a stimulus, and at another in a different fashion, though the stimulus and our action systems, for all practical purposes, be identical.

15. THE BODILY CONDITION

We can easily illustrate the effect of other factors than the stimulus and action system. To offer a healthy fourteen-year-old boy twenty liberal portions of ice-cream successively is cruelty, for he will not only become ill eating the first six or eight but will suffer anguish because he is unable to dispose of the remainder. The action system, the ice-cream stimulus, will be the same for the twentieth portion as for the first. The precise size of the central portion of the anatomy may differ somewhat, but the hands, lips, teeth, tongue, throat, stomach, the other portions of the action system will not differ from hour to hour. Yet the boy's behavior, as the successive dishes are presented, will differ markedly. Stimulus and action system together, then, are not sufficient to explain response; something else, the bodily condition or physiological state of the organism must be taken into consideration (JLO, 286 f). The influence of the condition of blood and nerve and lymph and tissue and hormones, accompanying hunger or satiety, fatigue, illness, etc., are no more to be neglected than is the action system (MNL). A weary and peevish person not only behaves very differently from a well-fed, rested and happy person, but is a very different proposition from every social standpoint. The fact that the blood and lymph and hormones may differ physically and chemically between fatigue and repose (MF, FW) need not concern us. The extreme delicacy of the physiological adjustments (PSP, ii) of the human body is worth emphasizing on the other hand, because reference to them is necessary in considering behavior, though reference to their exact character from

the standpoint of the chemical laboratory is not necessary. The influence of the toxins is as obvious in behavior as it is in the test-tube reaction; the influence on behavior is our concern, the other that of the physiological chemist.

16. PAST BEHAVIOR

There is another way in which the most subtle and mysterious physiological phenomena in the body are of great importance to behavior. In addition to the direct though more or less transitory physiological influence of the ice-cream upon the boy's immediate behavior, his future action is more or less permanently influenced by the mere fact that he has gone through the motions, had the sensations, etc., of eating too much ice-cream. The nerves which conduct the excitations, the nerve currents (HP, iii), from eye to finger and lip and tissue to brain and tissue, are extremely delicate living cells (TP, ix). Their matter and energy adjustments are upset quite easily. The molecular adjustments of the peripheries of the nerve cones in the eyes are disarranged or rearranged by light waves (HP, 349 f); air waves affect the ear nerves; physical contact, i. e. pressure, heat, cold, pain (HP, 272 f), all have their effect upon the nerves of the skin. The molecular changes brought about by light or air waves, or by pressure, heat or cold, set up some form of nervous excitation (VI, v) at the point of application or reception, and this the nerve transmits (VI, vi). Whither the nerve transmits the excitation does not depend alone upon the way it is connected (TP, 141) to other nerve cells in the body, and these to still others (TP, § 26). The nerve is such a marvellously delicate arrangement of matter and energy that it is in some way affected by the passage of the excitation. As a glass rod once twisted seems to remember and twist in the same direction more easily the second time, the nerve seems to

conduct more efficiently those excitations which have already passed its way (TP, 144). The reaction which takes place after the excitation has started on its way takes place in some other portion of the anatomy, some muscle or tissue or blood vessel, or in the extremely complex threads and fibres of the nerves in the brain. And if the reaction has once taken place, if the nervous excitation has once passed to a certain terminus, it has the tendency to do so more easily the second time, or not to do so the second time, depending on whether or not the reaction is favorable or unfavorable, pleasant or unpleasant (TP, § 27).

Not only, that is, is any reaction in part the result of certain physiological conditions in the blood and body, but it is also the result of past actions, past behavior. The glass rod, the unicellular organism (JLO, 178) and the human being are all influenced by their past behavior. From the practical standpoint of behavior this fact is of course summed up in the words habit forming. To form a habit, from the nerve side, seems to be to establish connections between nerves, tissues, muscle, brain, and spine such that a given excitation, the consequence of a stimulus, will tend to pass (physiological state and action system permitting) a certain way quietly and smoothly, without going by a roundabout route, and without spilling over into other paths. From the behavior standpoint to form a habit means to do some one thing quickly and smoothly, without unnecessary motions and adjustments. The tense, false starts of beginners at walking, piano playing and football, tennis or writing, are all in the work of forming a habit (MHB). Once the habit is formed the finger strikes the key without thought, just as the nerve excitation apparently passes from its point of inception, say the eye, ear or brain (memory) etc., to the finger, directly and neatly, without detour or spilling.

The social importance of habit forming is great for many reasons, most of which we may take up more adequately later on. For the present it will suffice to point out that one's ways of dealing with given situations become largely habitual. A playwright friend always has his premiere of a new show on Thursday. Joe Cannon, when speaker of the House of Representatives, had very specific ways of dealing with situations. Roosevelt apparently welcomes a scrap because it is a scrap, and to scrap is fun for most of us. Woodrow Wilson is less impetuous, less direct, and takes other matters, including the friction and hard feeling that result, into consideration. Such habits obviously are of social importance; the origins are interesting, obscure and perhaps controversial. Their existence is to a certain, if not a large extent, the effect of past behavior, past trials and errors in dealing with stimuli. This past behavior is to be taken into consideration in dealing with present behavior.

17. IMMEDIATE PAST BEHAVIOR

In addition to the more or less permanent effect of our past reactions in facilitating our present ones, our immediately preceding responses are also not to be neglected. Activity, as everyone knows, goes on in a more or less steady stream in which one thing leads to the next. If for any reason this flow is interrupted suddenly or rudely the phenomenon of "shock" takes place. Whatever the nervous counterpart of shock may be, in the way of a hasty and perhaps wasteful redistribution of nervous excitations, its occurrence is well known from the behavior side, being an old standby, particularly in mild forms, of the novelist, dramatist, etc. The tendency of our immediate past behavior to influence our present behavior is clearly illustrated in great numbers of situations—getting awake after sound

sleep, cooling off after excitement, the comparative ease of becoming excited after an "uncertain" half-hour, rather than after a quiet half hour, etc.—Part of this effect of immediate past action is doubtless due to the physiological state of the body, as drowsiness after a hearty meal seems largely due to that. The different behavior of opposing sides at an interclass football game or an athletic meet of any sort, particularly in a small college where all the general lines of activity are about the same for every one, seems due particularly to the more immediate past responses. While the immediate past behavior may seem to be much the same, in the sense that all individuals present have just come to the game, etc., the gathering of the two sets of supporters in different groups, their conversation with emphasis on class-mates, which are different in the two cases, rather than on college matters, which are the same in the two cases, and so on, all seem to play a large part in the often intense rivalry of the game.

18. BEHAVIOR FACTORS

Despite the obvious vulnerability of the formal and systematic expression which is not subject to exact mathematical formulation and verification, it is almost worth while to sum up behavior, from one standpoint, in this manner :

$$\text{stimulus} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{action system} \\ \text{physiological state} \\ \text{past reactions} \end{array} \right\} \text{response}$$

In considering behavior, the response, the stimulus is important, however closely allied stimulus and response may be. Their alliance is in some way or another concatenated with the action system, the physiological state of the body and the past reactions the body has made.

19. REFLEX ACTION

There is another way of taking up individual behavior which is important because it is to a considerable extent based on what aspects of our behavior are hereditary and what are acquired. Perhaps the first consideration from this standpoint is reflex activity (SIA, i, ii). Reflexes are the simplest types of action we know, and are as essentially hereditary as the action system is. The reflex is the most automatic, unavoidable action we distinguish, the appearance of goose flesh, the flow of juices in the digestive tract when food enters, other responses quite organic in their character (PHB, 128 f).

20. INSTINCTIVE BEHAVIOR

Just as automatic, but somehow less organic, are instincts. Instincts often seem to be acquired somewhere in the dim evolutionary history of the species and after long usage and perpetuation to have become hereditary by a process of which we have no knowledge. In any case, the nerve connections and physiological processes which give rise to instincts seem to be determined in the sperm and egg, just as the relative size of the head and shape of the arm seem to be. An instinct frequently develops or disappears at a certain time in life history, just as certain features of the body develop or disappear in the course of growth. Both the inborn character of the instinct and its development at a certain period of growth are well illustrated in the following passage from Morgan's *Animal Behaviour*:

"One of a batch of moor-hen chicks showed, and once only, when a week old, an incipient tendency to bathe in the shallow tin of water which was placed in the sun, but soon desisted; nor was the action repeated, though he and the others enjoyed standing in the water. Five weeks later

one of the batch was taken to a beck. He walked quietly through the comparatively still water near the edge; but when he reached the part of the stream where it ran swiftly and broke over the pebbles, he stopped, ducked, and took an elaborate bath, dipping his head well under, clicking the water over his back, ruffling his feathers, and behaving in a most characteristic manner. Each day thereafter he did the same, with a vigor that increased up to the third morning, and then remained constant. The same bird some weeks later was swimming in a narrow part of the stream, with steep banks on either side, when he was frightened by a rough-haired pup. Down he dived, for the first time in his life; and after a few seconds his head was seen to appear, just peeping above the water beneath the bank." (MAB, 89; *cf.* WB, 128 f).

The unlearned character of the instinct is a prominent attribute; for that reason animal illustrations are better than human because it is difficult, except in the case of the instinct to suck, to grasp, etc., and a few others of early youth (TP, 190 f), to be sure that human action is entirely unacquired. The instincts in general are modes of activity which favor the continuance and comfort of life, though occasionally they do not, as in the case of the moth or the beetle which is attracted by the arc light and eventually killed. The inborn and practically unalterable nature of instincts make them difficult to distinguish clearly from reflexes. The beetle may go to the light because of an instinct, or in a purely reflexive manner (LMC, ii). In either case there are inherited nerve connections between the eyes and the wing muscles, and for practical purposes the result for the beetle is the same, however we baptize the method by which it is obtained. Whether the nerve connections give rise to reflexive or instinctive behavior is not important; in general, however, instincts are more complex,

are bundles of reflexes (JPP, xxiv; TON, vi, vii, viii; MSP, ii, iii).

Both the reflexive and instinctive types of behavior are of considerable social importance because they furnish one of the great common bonds on which we all count. While human instincts are to some extent modifiable, at least are at times suppressed through elimination of the stimuli that call them forth, they still give rise to a great series of impulses, if not always definite responses (WGS, 84). Being inborn and racial they vary little from one individual to the next and so, like the action system, are a basis for similar acts and feelings in different individuals. The reflexes and instincts, in so far as they are accompanied by certain overt signs, tears, groans, blushes, and so on, are also a great social asset merely as forms of communication (DEE).

21. EMOTIONS

Emotions are still another type of inborn behavior. It takes no explanation to tell any individual what they are, nor need the discussion of them be prolonged. Just which the emotions are is a matter of controversy (JPP, xxv; TON, xi; WGS, vi). They are common to us all, however, and are recognizable, though they may not be scientifically distinguishable from one another, nor in every case from instincts. (Compare fear, for example). They are like instincts in that they are bundles of reflexes, but differ from instincts in that they are more or less internal forms of behavior. They give rise, that is, to expansion or contraction of blood vessels, changes in the viscera, vascular action, rather than to specific overt behavior. The instinct to put out one's hands in falling seems to differ from the emotion of fear largely in where and how little motions go on. Both are inborn and practically automatic; both are common to the species.

22. HABIT

Distinctly opposed to instincts, emotions and reflexes, from the hereditary point of view, are habits. Their nature should be sufficiently clear from Section 16. They are learned and acquired, the results of past action. Once an action becomes habitual, however, it is difficult to distinguish it from an instinct (TP, 16). The lack of any essential difference in present behavior between habit and instinct is the foundation of the popular use of the word "instinct" where habit is meant. When the heroine of the novel "instinctively glances in the mirror," and the villain seizes the opportunity, "instinctively," to look at his watch, the actions are of course habitual and acquired and are not inborn. They are performed smoothly, thoughtlessly (without attention) and efficiently, just as the inborn instincts are. The close similarity of a "deep grained" habit and an instinct does not imply that they are both inborn, nor that they are of the same social significance. The habit, because it is originally acquired, is not common to all people (BPM, iv; WGS, v; JPP, iv; MSP, xv). It varies from person to person vastly; instincts do not. The Chinese uncover their feet and cover their heads to show respect. The western world uncover their heads and cover their feet. But the emotion of fear, of instinctive action, is as recognizable in the Chinamen as it is in the Londoner. Habits, in other words, may differ between groups and as well be the source of difference between groups.

23. DELIBERATIVE ACTION

Human beings differ from nearly all other animals in that many of their actions are not determined by reflexive, instinctive, or other inborn modes of activity. Ants, bees, beavers, dogs, cats, and so on, while displaying great

variety in behavior and in their capacity to meet situations, are said to act altogether through inborn nerve connections and physiological processes (WA, xxviii-xxx; WB, ix-x). Humans do not, as is sufficiently shown by the belief in free-will, will, mind, soul, and other entities whose existence is inferred from behavior (HSE, 229). Whether or not this deliberation arises from a too great complexity of instincts, reflexes and emotions, so that the inborn tendencies oppose each other under such circumstances, is a matter of controversy (PSP, 30 f).

At any rate, crises are continually arising which our reflexes and instincts have not provided for, which our past behavior has not met with and solved through habit, and which yet must be met (TSB, 13 f). The occasions attract our attention and we make efforts to deal with them. We very often try first one thing, then another, until some solution which succeeds, perhaps only poorly, is hit upon. For example, students in reading for oral examinations in French often meet words or phrases for which they fail to find adequate translations. The word "croisait," which meant "he passed" in the particular context, was first translated as "he believed." The analogy of "croiser," of which "croisait" is the imperfect, for "croire" being sufficiently obvious to lead to a guess. Next the student suggested "he grew," "croître" being not too glaringly different from "croiser." Then the student read the whole passage more carefully and from context guessed "he crossed," a tolerable translation. Similarly the phrase "déchirer l'air des sifflets" was successively translated as "blew their whistles into the air," "disturb the air with their whistles," "to whistle," before the teacher supplied a correct interpretation. Humans are in this manner fortunate above other creatures; they are not hereditarily

equipped to meet every stimulus with which they may successfully cope.¹

Deliberative behavior is of social importance chiefly because most of the differences between people are differences of deliberative behavior, and differences in habits arising through the first satisfactory response found by "deliberation" at the time of some crisis, petty or great. The social aspects of deliberative behavior can be discussed better elsewhere.

¹ It is necessary to note that animals acquire certain activities by the trial and error method. Cf. WB, 45f, vii, *etc.*

IV. BEHAVIOR AND GROUPS

24. ACTIONS AND GROUPS

A VERY hasty review of some few aspects of individual behavior, such as that which has just been completed, supplies the information that is necessary to understand what is meant by such phrases as stimulus, response, influence of past behavior, etc. It also assists to make clear the close similarity between the activity of people as members of a group, and social activity in the broadest sense. That social groups, family, club, union, clique, are known through the behavior of individuals who "belong" to them is merely one way of illustrating a principle which may be derived from any statistical or other generalization. Professor Giddings begins his *Elements of Sociology* with this paragraph: "The Groupings of Like Things. If we wish to understand the world in which we live, we must cultivate the habit of noticing what things are like one another. It is true that we must also notice what things are unlike one another . . . " (GES, I). That is just what statisticians do. They take things which everyone agrees are alike, (apples), measure them, (notice the differences in diameter, weight, perimeter, color, etc.) and then sum up all the cases with which they have dealt in what they call an average (YTS, 107 f). The average is characteristic of the group. It is not any one apple, but a definite statement which considers some aspect of the behavior of each apple.

The social group is a simple parallel without the summary. It is all persons who respond to or about

some stimulus or interest. It may be a large group—all persons who have the habit of believing in a personal God—or it may be a small group, all those who have the habit of drawing cashable checks for one million dollars. It may be a purely statistical group, i. e. all the people living in a given area at a given time; all the people passing a given spot (exposition gate, football gate) within a given period (Saturday afternoon, February); all the people performing a similar action at a specified time (all people boarding street cars at 10.03 a. m. on a Tuesday), or in a specific place (in Chicago) or within certain limits (everyone who has ridden on the Pennsylvania Railroad during 1914, everyone who had the mumps in Connecticut in 1912, everyone who died in Philadelphia in 1907, etc.)

25. BEHAVIOR AND SOCIAL GROUPS

We are accustomed to think of social groups as something more than the merely statistical groups, but it is pertinent to point out that every group has its statistical defines. Every church is made up of persons whose activity is like one another's with respect to certain limits of type and time and space.

We often characterize groups as social, however, when they are made up of people who are responding to a single stimulus at a given time and place. A football crowd which "rises as one man" because the individuals in it see a player making an end run, and because the individuals, through the influence of past behavior (acquired) and present imitation (inborn), respond to that stimulus in the same way and within certain fractions of a second of time limits. The similar action system, the similar inborn tendencies, reflexes, instincts, emotions, and the similar past behavior with regard to football games and the proper stimulus leads to a similar straightening of the legs, raising of the arms,

sudden expansion of the lungs (gasp), and the only less rapid contraction with expulsion of the air through the vocal chords (yell). This action which is similar in so many individuals is held, and quite properly, it would seem, to be social. So many factors are similar, the action system, in-born and acquired connections, the place, the time, are all similar, the stimulus is common. How very social, then, the action is!

Only less social is the group which is co-operating at a given time and place, the savage building a canoe, or the children of the neighborhood sliding down hill. The time, the place, the action system and inborn tendencies, particularly where the individuals are approximately the same age and one sex, are definitely similar. The past behavior of the individuals is often similar, as it is in the case of the savage horde or of the children of a given neighborhood, if democratic. The stimulus, the immediate thing to which each individual responds, is, to be sure, slightly different. The interest, the general line of activity (canoe building, sliding down hill) is the same. But each special person is in a slightly different place, taking cognizance of what goes on from a slightly different angle. Each individual's immediate past activity is not quite the same and naturally each person's response is slightly different; the activity is co-operative, not co-ordinated; they can not all coast down the same hill on the same sled at the same time; they can not all chisel the same chip from the same spot at the same time with the same tool. But the action is still very social. Many of the factors are still identical.

Co-operative activity, however, merges from a simple and obvious type where so many factors are similar to the type where only some one factor is, as it were, the glue. We have alumni associations, people whose activities for a period of time, in the past, have centered around some

common interest. Their activities with respect to the common interest may have been at different times (classes of '86 and '00, for example) at different places (as Harvard College and Harvard Medical School). The co-operation often consists of different responses at different times and scattered places, though to a similar stimulus (reading an alumni quarterly, or monthly, or some appeal for funds, etc., paying dues). Sometimes reunions, large or small, mitigate the rather desultory generality of such co-operation, if it is worthy of the name; but at the reunions themselves the situation becomes very much more like that of the savages and their canoe; the groups at the reunions are made up of men who have many of the same experiences at the same time, men of the same class and the same branch of the University.

Groups which have only a few of the elements of behavior in the activity of each individual are frequently considered to be so much the less social. The group, even in such cases is, however, known by the responses of individuals.

There are other "thin" groups which are held together through some present stimulus rather than any similarity in past behavior. They are even more ephemeral, in general. Examples are common enough, all the people within a given area when a wagon breaks a wheel, all those waiting on a station platform for a train, particularly if it is late, is wrecked, etc., are statistical classes which may establish social relations, for a short time.

26. GENERAL SOCIAL ACTION AND GROUPS

If social action is essentially action in connection with a group interest, there still remains the case of the individual who acts socially because of contact with other persons, though the action takes place independently of them. The

individual, who acted in private, was said to be acting socially; for any act which is the result of contact with others, or is done for its social effect, is a social act. Yet if social action is to be activity as a member of a social group, and we are only to regard as social action that which definitely involves the actor in a social group, the individual instance seems quite irreconcilable with social action. Are we then to use the word social in more than one sense? Or are we to call one type of action, that of the individual, social action, and the other sociable action?

The word social is today, and it has been, employed in more than one sense. And it is simple to see how a person acting alone and independently may be acting socially while we wish to call social action only that which is done in or in connection with groups. To sum up the difference, we might say that social action is sociable action, while acting socially may or may not be.

The difference, even so, is one of words. Why is the person who picks his teeth when alone particularly different from the person who reads an alumni quarterly when alone? There is, in both cases, a group of individuals who do more or less the same thing. One happens to be a group of toothpick users, the other a group of individuals who at some time or another have attended Convard. The person may have learned to pick his teeth in 1873, while all others in the boarding-house were not born until 1874 or after. Similarly, the alumnus may have graduated from Convard in 1860, and be the only living graduate of his day. In this respect, the cases are quite analogous. In others they are not, however. The toothpick user learned to pick his teeth practically independently of other people, with the exception of an example or two. The same is not true of the man who attended Convard. He did not do so independently of all other people. The cases differ in that the two men,

one belonging to the toothpick-user group, the other to a group which has attended Convard, acquired their habits in different ways. One acquired the habit of using toothpicks independently of other people. The other established his habit of thinking of Convard along with other people.

Does this fact make it necessary to revise the conclusion that individuals act socially when acting privately? Or to adopt the other way out, and distinguish between social and sociable activity? Let us go a little further before concluding, and ask if the toothpick-user acquires his method of ridding his mouth of unwelcome particles so very independently after all? If he uses a toothpick and if other persons use toothpicks, the implication is that he certainly did not.

The difference in the method of acquisition boils down to the fact that the man learned what other people had already learned by example, and "by himself." The other man learned what other people had already learned in a room full of students. Though one man had a need to pick his teeth which was strictly his own, the other man's need of education was no less personal (SF, 2, 33 f). The method of response for the first man was moulded by the fact that other people also have stimuli that result in the use of the toothpick, just as the method of response for the second man was moulded by the fact that others felt the need of an education at Convard. After all the use of toothpicks seems, rather than is, quite personal, because it is referred to as rarely as possible. Such has not always been the case. The use of toothpicks was once a source of sociability. Mary, Queen of England, presented her husband Philip, King of Spain, with a solid gold toothpick which she had used for the past nine years, and sent with it a little note requesting that it be as dear to him as it had been to her.

27. SOCIAL GROUPS THAT ARE NOT SOCIABLE GROUPS

To continue with the problem of social and group activity we can see that there are reasons for believing that the group based on custom or habit is even more social in character than the Convard alumni. All those individual acts which are classed as good or bad manners, morals, etc., have a peculiarly social aspect. The social aspect may be less apparent because the models of activity are subtly perpetuated. They are not drilled into people en masse as the goose step is drilled into the soldier. For example, a class of girls, on being requested to name each and severally three things which they knew to be the practise of other persons but which they had been taught at a time when they alone were learning them, named fifty-three different habits, and only a few were mentioned more than once. Many of the habits described are acquired by us at such an early age, and are consequently so rarely thought of, that we do not realize that we do them solely because we are social creatures, solely because they are deeply ingrained folkways.

The list follows :

To change clothes night and morning.

To dress and undress.

To tie shoe laces before coming down stairs.

To tie shoe laces.

To braid, fix, etc., the hair.

To tie hair ribbon.

Not to eat with a knife.

Not to make a noise while drinking milk, eating soup, etc.

To wash hands before eating.

Not to prop head at the table when eating.

Not to leave spoon in cup.

To break bread in pieces and not eat it like a sandwich.

To wait at table until other people have been served before starting to eat.

To go regularly to meals three times a day.
To come to meals promptly.
To fold napkin carefully.
To say "please" and "thank you".
To put chair in proper place before leaving table.
To use napkin.
To eat the crust as well as the crumb of bread.
To rise when elders enter the room.
Not to cross knees in public.
To allow older people to leave the room first.
To add the name of a person when saying "yes" or "no."
To say good-morning to everyone.
To greet people on entering a room.
Not to address any one as "ma'am."
To respect elders.
To be polite to distant relatives and submit to embrace.
To pass pointed thing with point towards self.
To shake hands.
To behave properly (at church, table, etc.)
To stand up and sit up straight.
Not to bring stray cats and dogs into the house.
Not to play with matches or fire.
To remove and fold bed spread before retiring.
To look in each direction before crossing a street.
To give up seat in street car to older persons.
To ride horseback.
To ride a bicycle.
To go to church Sunday morning.
To say prayers.
To write with right hand.
To toe out.
To knit.
To cook.
To sew.
To make and trim doll's hats.
To play violin.
To play piano.
To wash dishes.

Each of these habits are in different degree common to a great many people, though they are taught separately to separate children as the need arises in many different places and times. The interesting thing is that even though separately taught, they are perpetuated in the manner in which other people perform them, as the following table will show. In this the items are arranged according to the manner in which the students did or did not acquire the habits. If learned by imitation and suggestion in earliest youth, the students indicated it by the mark of "home"; if pressure was required to inculcate the habit, that was indicated also. If the performance was encouraged by outside contact with others, or when older, with or without the addition of some pressure, such as ridicule or coercion, the fact was also indicated. The result, starting with the habits which were most generally learned entirely at home, whether with or without pressure, is given below. The answers are precisely as the students gave them. It will be noticed that there are some replies which seem quite incredible, as for example the student who reported that she did not learn to change clothes night and morning. Since the passing of mediaeval customs this habit has so permeated all life that we do not seem to "learn" to do it any more; the answer would seem to be due to that interpretation of "not learned" rather than to a budding sense of humor. In the case of the student who did not learn to shake hands, the case may have been different.

H is learned at home in early childhood.

HP is learned at home in early childhood but under pressure.

X is not learned.

C is learned by contact in early childhood.

CP is learned by contact in early childhood, and under pressure.

O is learned when older.

OP is learned when older and under pressure.

	H	HP	X	C	CP	O	OP
1. Not to eat with knife	16	6					
2. To dress, undress, etc.	13½ ¹	8½					
3. To respect elders	14	7					
4. Not to leave spoon in cup	9	12	1				
5. Not to play with matches	3	18					
6. To wait at table until other people have been served before starting to eat	4	16½			½		1
7. To tie shoe-laces	13	7		1		1	
8. To tie shoe-laces before coming down stairs	6	14	1				
9. To wash hands before coming to table	5	15		1			1
10. To shake hands	17½	2	1	1½			
11. To attend meals promptly	2½	17	1			½	
12. To use a napkin	17	2	1	2			
13. To button shoes	16	3	1				
14. To change clothes night and morning	12	7	1				
15. To go regularly to meals three times a day	12	7	2		1		
16. To fold napkin carefully	7	12	1	1			
17. Not to make a noise when drinking soup, etc.	5	14		1		1	
18. To say "please" and "thank you"	7½	10½	1	2		1	
19. To say prayers	7	11	2	1	2		2
20. To break bread and not to eat it like a sandwich	6	12					
21. To behave properly at church, table, etc.	2½	15½		3	1		
22. To pass pointed thing with point towards self	8	9	1	2		1	1
23. Not to prop head at table when eating	5½	11½	4				1
24. To be polite to distant relatives and submit to embrace	5	11½	4½	1			
25. To braid, fix, etc., the hair	8	8	1	1		2	2
26. To put chair in proper place be- fore leaving table	6	10	3	1			

¹ A fraction indicates that a student divided her answer between two or more headings.

27. To go to church on Sunday ...	5	9½	4	1	½	1
28. To tie hair-ribbon	11	3		5	2	1
29. To allow older people to leave room first	4	10		2	1	3
30. To write with right hand	12	1½	3	2	3½	
31. To stand or sit up straight	2	11½	4		3½	½
32. To greet people on entering a room	8	5	1	3		3
33. To eat crust as well as crumb of bread	6	7	4	2	2	1
34. To rise when elders enter room.	5	8	1	2	3	3
35. Not to address anyone as "ma'am"	10	2	9			
36. To wash dishes	8	4	2	1		4
37. To give up seat in street-car to older person	7	4½	1	7½	2	
38. To be careful in crossing street	3½	8	1	5	2½	1
39. To say "good-morning" to every one	10	1	2	2	2	1
40. To sew	6½	3½	3½		1½	4
41. To add name of person when saying "yes" or "no"	3	8	2	2	4	2
42. To look in each direction be- fore crossing street	4½	5½	2	3½		3½
43. To play piano	1	9		1	5	4
44. Not to bring stray cats or dogs into the house	1	9	11			
45. Not to cross knees in public ...		10	5	2	3	1
46. To toe out	5	2	10	2	2	
47. To cook	5	½	7	2	1½	3
48. To ride horseback	3	1	4½	3½	1	7
49. To knit	2	2	5	3	1	7
50. To remove bedspread before retiring		3	13			2
51. To ride a bicycle	2		4	11		3
52. To make and trim doll's hats ..	1		15	1	2	1
53. To play violin	1		18			1

No break in the gradual weakening of early and youthful repetitions of the behavior in question is noticed until the twenty-eighth item, "To go to church on Sunday morning," is reached, and then the break is not large. It is not until the fortieth item, "To say good morning to every-

one," that more than half the people replying did not learn the action at home and in their early youth.

The need for many of these customs or folkways appears to be personal and private, or at most a family need. Yet the actions are social in the sense that they are derived from our common styles of living and acting. If one is inclined to doubt this we have only to turn to language, which is perpetuated in much the same way as the folkways—by constant repetition of common words when very young. And we may turn still further to other peoples, where there is a conflict between our ways and theirs. "It has been mentioned . . . that Polynesians cannot use an ax. They want to set the blade transverse to the handle. The negroes of the Niger Protectorate are very clumsy at going up or down stairs. . . . They also find it very difficult to understand or interpret a picture, even of the least conventional kind" (SF, 132). Though ax-using, interpreting pictures and so on may be as unessential as learning to ride a bicycle, the difference none the less brings home the importance of such ingrown modes of behavior in our social life. Few of us are sufficiently democratic to have a person, who, from our point of view, is bad-mannered for a friend. It is easier for all of us to be sociable if our early behavior which is become habitual in our manners and customs, is more or less the same as that of those with whom we are associating. Even if in after life we are subjected for many years to common stimulation and interstimulation and response, we may never overcome a sigh of relief which accompanies the escape from certain companions in business, politics, or even in church, where above all we are chosen to love our neighbor.

28. SOCIAL GROUPS

There is then a class of individuals who react similarly

when brought face to face with certain recurring stimuli, as well as the sociable group. In the sociable group individual actions and responses are naturally far more dissimilar than are the manners or the customs of the "class" or "element" in the population, provided attention is confined to those individual reactions which make up the manners or the customs.

The social group which is the individuals who have certain ways of shaking hands, and eating, and wearing clothes, etc., has certain similarities of conduct as its criterion. This group is no less social, because of the subtle and indirect perpetuation of the reactions, than is the sociable group. The sociable group is frequently difficult to distinguish from the other. The point at which a football crowd merges from one type into the other is not easy to discern; the various individuals of the crowd which make up a sociable group at any time, and the individuals which are merely among those present is not easy to discern, though it is easy to point out which individual actions in the crowd are sociable, which are similar but not sociable. In other words the exact relation of groups to the communication within them is obscure, whether the groups are sociable or merely people who do the similar thing when face to face with the similar stimulus. Communication, association, is consequently an unfair test for the social and the unsocial.

Social action extends beyond the bounds of direct association and communication. For this reason the social group may be an associating group, or it may be simply a number of people who have acquired, in the course of their social lives, similar modes of action. In the latter case we have a criterion of similar behavior, in the former case a criterion of common interest. The common interest is not apart from behavior, any more than the Convard alumni are apart from people who have ever attended or heard of

Convard. The common interest is in fact a behavior criterion as the similar action criterion is a matter of behavior and as looking, tasting, feeling, smelling, and sounding (when broken) like an apple is an apple. In the same sense it is then, that the social group is a grouping of like things; it is in this sense that we shall notice what things are like one another, or have a common reference point in individual behavior.

29. SUMMARY

Individual behavior is for various reasons much alike and for various reasons much unlike. Our action systems, hereditary nerve connections, are very similar. But on top of this is an extremely variegated superstructure of behavior which, like the divisions of vegetables into potatoes, turnips, parsnips, peas, and pumpkins, divides individuals into social groups, great or narrow. To speak more strictly individuals react in certain manners or ways which show either similar training or common interests. We think of the people who react in this way as members of a group. The group, it should be noticed, is nothing but people whose reactions are related to those of others, being either similar or supplementary. Some of these actions are done at the same time and place and the group is then social enough to satisfy the most skeptical. Some actions, however, are performed only in the dark, are learned, but are learned alone (speaking from the learner's standpoint). In such cases the reactions, using toothpicks, reading, etc., though sufficiently like those of other people are not performed along with other people. A group of a statistical type may be counted in such cases, and the groups are social in that the actions are ways of doing things which are prevalent merely because we are social creatures—creatures who learn from one another, and live with respect to one another.

V. GROUPS, GROUP RELATIONS, AND GROUP ANALYSES

30. IMPORTANCE OF GROUPS IN GENERAL SOCIAL LIFE

THE group which is not sociable or co-operating, the group which is one because of the similar habits or manners of its members, is one of more or less permanence. The manners and habits do not change in the individual's life time to any great extent, and for that reason such groups, compared with sociable or co-operating groups, are relatively permanent. The group which is concerned with some interest or activity, and in which the individuals are supplementing one another, is often most protean in form and structure. The people who are concerned with the interest or the activity are not only varying from time to time, but what they do as members is in general not at all similar in the sense that the manners of a set of people are alike. In special cases, such as the football crowd, the members of such a group may be behaving similarly. But this is not so true of most group activity. The "lookout" for the safecrackers who are inside at work is as much a member of the group that is on the "job"—provided he keeps on the lookout—as the men within who are doing the "cracking." Yet his behavior is not at all similar. In other cases different actions are performed at different times, and in different places, as well as by different people. New people, for example, are from time to time joining the socialist party, others are leaving it. The socialist party is scattered, not only in place but in time.

Either type or group may be observed with equal success, however, for as long as we stick to the behavior of the individuals who make up the group—which is the only way, ultimately, of knowing what the group is in any case—we have a definite thing to deal with.

There are certain interesting side issues about either type of group which throw light on the importance of groups in general social life, and upon their relevance in the general social process. If we go back a long distance in time, a long way in the history of humanity as a species, we reach a period when the human horde, a small and very close knit group in every sense of the word, ranged *its* territory and carried on *its* life (DTE, ii). The group labored with the environment. The group fought the wild beasts and fought the other hordes. The group was the only true group of men. There were other animals of the same form, but they were not men according to the members of the group; the others were something less than human (SF, 13 f). And in such hordes, furthermore, practically the only subdivisions were the age groups, the young, the braves, the old, and the sex groups, males and females of certain ages (WSS).

It would be only a platitude to point out that as time has gone on and man has gained a considerable mastery over the environment this naive, single-hearted character of the population has become less and less single. The fact that the horde was once the basis of human life, the fact that the species, or various races of the species have recently become the basis, may not explain the importance of groups today, but it will help in throwing light on the importance of groups. Plato, a genius, could not see sufficiently beyond the behavior of his day to conceive the possibility of an ideal state so very different from the tribe or at most the city-state of which his own forbears had been members.

But we do not have to fall back on history nor on evolution to grasp the still predominant character of group behavior. Though it was not until a century or two ago that a population in any sense like a modern nation could exist peaceably as such, without the continual pressure of military restraint to maintain the fabric, the group within the fabric has not diminished in importance. The activities of every individual are divisible into group activities. And the more important the activity in the individual's life the more clearly defined and closely knit is the group to which the activity makes the actor "belong." To see how truly the importance and the clarity of the group seems to vary with the number of reactions and responses individuals make in connection with it we may consider the case of X——.

X—— is a patent attorney for a corporation manufacturing electrical machinery. He is a young American, born in a state in the northeastern quarter of the nation, and was there educated. He is:

- I. An United States citizen
 - A. residing in the state of ——
 - I. at Y——
 - (a) with a house in the Z—— district.
- II. He was born into the X—— family
- III. and married into the Q—— family.
- IV. He is a lawyer by profession, and consequently is a member of the legal profession.
 - A. But has specialized on patent law,
 - I. particularly that relating to electrical machinery,
 - (a) and is well satisfied with his position as an assistant patent attorney of the K—— company situated at Y——.
- V. Looking at X—— from another standpoint, that of an employee, however, he is a member of the group which manufactures electrical machinery,

A. especially the machinery of the K—— company.

1. He is, as an employee, a member of the office force,

(a) particularly the office force at Y——,

(i) or rather the legal division of it

(1) which specializes on patents.

2. Aside from being an employee in the office force he is interested in the legal aspects of the business.

(a) in especial those matters which concern patenting inventions or prosecuting infringements.

VI. Outside of the family and business interests he belongs to the W—— Country Club,

VII. And the Republican party,

VIII. The Alumni Association of the XY—— Institute of Technology

A. and the class of 190—

1. and to those who took the electrical course.

B. In addition he was member of the YZ fraternity

1. in its 190— delegation.

C. And owing to living conditions has close relations with other alumni in Y——.

IX. Furthermore, he is also an alumnus of the Law School of the XZ University,

A. Where he belonged to the QK—— legal fraternity,

B. And the class of 190—

etc.

X. He associates with various sets of people; he is, in other words, a member of various cliques or friendship groups.

A. In Y——

B. In F——, his home town

C. In connection with the alumni of VIII

D. And of VIII B,

etc.

- XI. He is among those who subscribe to
 - A. An Y—— daily paper
 - B. An F—— Daily paper
- XII. He is among those who ride to work on street cars.
- XIII. He is among those who go to the “ movies.”
- Etc.

Each of these groups can be clearly distinguished and set off, one from another. Yet if we regard the groups from the standpoint of those playing an important role in X——’s life, we can quickly see the many factors which bind such groups more closely together than to those which X—— “ belongs ” largely incidentally.

The X—— family group (II), his own family group, his particular occupation group [IV A 1 (a)] or [V A 1 (a) (i) (1)] and his immediate social group (X A) are the only ones whose character is closely defined within narrow statistical limits, and they are the only ones which to X—— are particularly important. But their importance to X—— is hardly greater than their importance or the importance of groups like them in that wider thing which is called society.

Co-operation and co-ordinated activity, wherever they occur, are carried on by individuals who are bound rather closely into groups. That is, our life and times consists of a great mass of group activities, family life, association with immediate friends, concern over specific economic interests with which others are closely identified, and so on.

31. INTERLOCKING OF GROUPS

Individuals often pass rapidly from one interest to another. In general, however, they have certain main interests to which they respond in large measure, as in the case of X——. There is the firm or corporation or job, family, church, trade association and club; the workingman has his

job, which he may not like, his friends who meet with him in the saloon or wherever else it is possible for them to be sociable, his family, his union if the employer permits it or can not prevent it, and so on. In addition life comprises a mass of side issues, reading the newspaper, some sport or game for Saturday afternoon or evening, politics for the majority only occasionally, no-license, etc., etc. To study the way in which all these groups are related, are interlocked through different individuals, is obviously enough not the same problem as studying the group itself.

Miss Lucy Peaches, for example, is a member of a certain clique of some years standing in which there are three other girls. Only one, however, is also the daughter of a man whose family is entitled to use the grounds of the local country club. Two others go to the same dancing class, that of the second and fourth Thursdays, while the fourth belongs to the Saturday class. Three, not the same three, worship with the Episcopal denomination, while the fourth is a Unitarian. None of them ever expect to earn their own livings, whether married or not, but they are all interested in charity work; two in settlements, a third in nursing, a fourth in church work.

A discussion of the various groups in which Miss Lucy Peaches and her three friends are active would be extensive. The manner in which Miss Peaches and her friends interrelate the groups would involve still further observation and investigation.

All society is an interweaving of groups in this manner; the interweaving is not like the warp and woof of cloth. The warp touches each thread in the woof. Miss Peaches touches in no instance all of the various groups which her friends do, nor do they concern themselves with all of hers. Society is divided into an infinity of groups and is woven together by the infinity of individual relationships within these groups.

If we refer once more to the primitive horde in which every man, woman and child were economically interdependent, where each worshipped the same totem, spoke identically the same dialect, had the same amusements and had the same habits of belief and behavior and ritual, we find a population where the inter-relations of the groups in it are simple. In modern society the case is as different as one wishes to imagine it. To trace out group relationships from the point of view of the population, even in a small district, is a most difficult thing (JCB). If we take a single group and find in what others the individuals are interested, or take a single individual and trace out the groups bound more or less together by that individual, the task is relatively simple, though still difficult enough.

32. GROUPS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The interweaving of groups through the individuals that make them up is society from a standpoint of behavior. Even the primitive horde has its groups, its fighters, children, women, the boys about to become men, the old and wily who from long contact with the horde and its doing have more "stuff" in them, from the point of view of all of the population, than the young or the women (WSS). And for this reason it seems even the primitive group is called a society. Modern population, in this sense, is still more a society. A queer expanse of three dimensions, hotter here, cooler there, now sputtering, now slumbering, never still, only rarely thoroughly active, withal some sort of whole made up of inseparable parts, is modern society. And this queer whole is said to have an organization, a something referred to as social organization; some threads, it is held, run straight through it and the people in society cling to them. There is social control and social order in the whole. There are "social forces" acting in the whole

and leading to "social products." Social organization has so many aspects, social morality, social progress, social surplus, social types, social failures, social warnings, even social groups, that the impression grows and grows that there is some all-inclusive social organization, something unseen and unheard which transcends and directs, some organization with a capital O.

It may be that there is such organization, but its practical effect as a stimulus to individual conduct is purely of the group order. The persons who respond to social organization in this sense do not exist outside of certain academic and literary groups; within them the social organization is a stimulus giving rise to ideas, lectures, discussions and books. It may further be said, with regard to such a social organization, that the dictionary defines organization as "a systematic arrangement for a definite purpose." If there is anywhere a systematic arrangement for a definite purpose there is of course a group. Organization of necessity means a group among the individuals who are the systematic arrangement for a definite purpose.

It may be claimed on the other hand that all living humans or Christian humans, or white Christian humans, are in the group to which the transcendent type of social organization refers. In such a case there can only be a dispute as to fact. Does every individual respond within such a systematic arrangement for a definite purpose? The query is metaphysical if not theological. If every individual does respond within a systematic arrangement for a definite purpose no man knows the purpose nor the arrangement. Discussion of what can be observed and verified by further observation excludes the question of a transcendent social organization. It may be laid aside to slumber peacefully with the social mind and to rest with the social will.

If social organization on the other hand means in a

simple sense that all people who live are more or less mutually interrelated and interdependent the statement is unimpeachable. The only possible question, then, would lie against the use of the word organization, which is not important.

What is important is the organization within groups, is the relation people concerned with some one interest have to one another. The terms order, organization, etc., are all terms derived from these relations, while organization itself exists in groups, not in society; indeed it is a group in which the organization goes on.

33. THE STUDY OF GROUPS

Groups are important because individual activity naturally falls into responses which ally each individual to others. Groups are important because they can be observed and because they are real elements in our life as well as in our evolution as a race. They are important because society is, from the standpoint of what actually goes on, a great mass of groups which are interlocked and intertwined in a fashion that defies analogy. They are important because social organization is group organization. The study of them is not a study of every aspect of life, nor is it the study of society, for society, taking the whole population and every aspect of each individual's behavior into consideration, is a matter of a different order. Group relations, however, are the primitively social relations of life, as Cooley has so ably shown (CSO), and the relations of one group to another can not be well understood without some prior understanding of the group itself.

VI. GROUP ANALYSIS

34. THE PROBLEM OF DATA

THE story of the group itself is not a simple thing to undertake. The reasons are various. In the first place psychology has concerned itself first with soul, later with mind, and only to an insignificant extent with behavior. For this reason methods and machinery for studying, and the principles of behavior and activity are in general quite lacking. In the second place, and beyond the lack of methods and principles for studying behavior, we have little data of behavior, either experimental or natural. The data, to be good data, it would seem, should be the normal course of real social groups, the biography of groups, as it were. Here and there the most meager data appears. For example there is the Hebden² Bridge Fustian Cutters' Association.

"The immediate cause of the commencement of the society was an effort among a few fustian cutters to continue as a trade for the purpose of raising a sick and funeral fund. One, however, of the number, having been at the Co-operative Congress held in Manchester in Whit-week, 1870, advised that a Co-operative Cutting and Dyeing Establishment would be preferable. . . . It was then resolved to canvass the cutters and dyers of the neighborhood with the view of commencing a Co-operative Trade Society, to be composed of cutters and dyers. . . . We did so, and the immediate result was that thirty-two members were enrolled three of whom, after paying their

first contributions of six d., withdrew—one for fear of his master taking offence, and the others for want of faith” (PCC, 112).

In this we have to do with one of the most fascinating of problems in connection with social life, the origin and development of a new collective or co-operative enterprise. Yet the information to be drawn from this account, which was of course not written for the student of sociology, is merely tantalizing. Who were the “few fustian cutters” who made the effort “to combine as a trade for the purpose of raising a sick and funeral fund?” How did they come together? We learn elsewhere that they were all familiar with distributive co-operation, so that the proposal of the one who had “been at the Co-operative Congress held in Manchester” did not fall on altogether uncomprehending ears. None the less the situation is much too vague to permit of any genuine analysis.

The other problem, that of machinery for obtaining data, is also serious and genuine. Why was it that the suggestion to form a co-operative fustian cutters organization did not fall on deaf ears, however comprehending they may have been? We all have experienced the humiliation of having suggestions to do this or that fall flat, as well as perhaps the rarer joys of having the suggestion seized upon. The problem is clearly put by a student:

“Somebody says let’s go to the tea-house for supper and we all go.

“Again somebody says let’s play tennis but the suggestion is not favorably received.”

. The answer to the problem is not so clear. The student explained the difference between the situations in this way:

"In the first case everyone was tired of the college meals and were ready at the slightest suggestion to do anything to get away from them. It gratified a desire already in their minds.

"In the second case they did not play tennis because some of the group did not like athletics in any shape or form. It was something to which they had a previously conceived aversion, or it may be that at just that time they didn't 'feel' like doing it. It did not fill a need."

Though there is here an attempt to analyze the difference between the two situations, the attempt is not as convincing as it might be, perhaps because the student shares in the lack of methods for studying and analyzing behavior. Thus the problem of data is a complex one, involving not only considerable effort to obtain it, but also ignorance of exactly what to look for, and what to do with what is seen.

35. THE SITUATION

Despite the difficulties of obtaining data and despite the lack of recognized methods of studying behavior, certain questions about groups and group activity offer a starting point. The group, it has been frequently emphasized, is a behavior group; that is, a body of individuals whose actions are relative to one another's, or similar, or both. In the case of an individual it has been said that activity is a response to a stimulus. Is the activity of a group a response to a stimulus?

In a narrow sense every individual in the group is responding to a different stimulus; even then the stimulus for each individual is a situation rather than some one thing on which one's finger definitely can be put. For example the small boy who had the opportunity to eat the successive portions of ice cream did not respond in

the mechanical fashion a hot iron would if plunged into the cream. The fact that the boy was told that he could have all he wished, that a spoon was or was not present, etc., were all elements in the situation to which the boy was at any given moment responding.

In the matter of group activities people seem to respond even more to situations; that is, the stimulus to which the individuals respond is a situation in a broad sense. Perhaps the direct interest which brings the people together or which is the matter of the give and take between them is not the controlling factor in their activity. A student contrasted the two following situations. In only one of the two cases did the direct interest master other features:

"A lot of girls in the senior class at school wanted to begin the custom of giving a senior play. Different girls would make the suggestion many times and all would agree, but no one seemed to do anything. The principal would have to be asked and no one thought she would agree; but of course if they had asked her she might have been persuaded to give in; but all were scared to go, so the matter fell through.

"However, the same group started the custom of having an annual; as before, all were timid about asking permission, but one girl was keen enough about it to go and ask and permission was given."

If we took a narrow view of stimulus and response, if we limited the stimulus to one pin-point of what actually affected the various individuals, the story would have been quite different from the girl's description. A human girl suggesting a play or an annual in the presence of other human girls, and all reacting in the presence of one another makes the stimulus, the situation, a complex one. If we limited the stimulus simply to the play or

the annual the narrative would be unreal; the group would correspond to the aggregations of animalcules of which Jennings speaks (JLO,vi). The paramecia, for example, gather in an acid of the correct weakness and do not leave the area of that acid. They happen into the area one by one, by pure chance, seemingly. They stay in the area because they avoid the unacidulated water without. But unless they bump into one another their behavior takes no account of other paramecia. It is by contrast that the stimulus in social and human intercourse appears as a situation rather than a simple matter of acid or no acid, play or no play. The girls are affected by each other and each other's feelings as well as by the idea of a play, of a principal, and so on.

Too broad a view of situation should not, therefore, be taken. It is worth while distinguishing between situation and stimulus because the word situation is broad; stimulus too often connotes the artificial use of an electric needle or drops of acid in laboratory experiments on animals, or some flash of light or other narrow and mechanical change in the psychological laboratory. The situation is a changing thing; it is change, as the stimulus is. When one girl finally goes to ask the principal about the senior annual the situation is very different from what it was the instant before she started, and so on. The situation is an instantaneous and passing thing, it is the stimulus for the individuals in a behavior group.

Though the importance of the situation as a stimulus may seem clear enough in the face-to-face group of people all much alike and of the same sex, we may ask if it is equally a situation which is the stimulus in all groups. Suppose we turn back to the Hebden Bridge Fustian Cutters' Association. Meager as the information is, the

general situation rather than certain arbitrary stimuli seems to stand out. The cases of the three men who left the Association after paying their initial dues of six pence, one for fear of his master, the other two for want of faith, are illustrations of the manner in which situations rather than particular parts of them influence conduct. If we go still further back to the group separately perpetuated—the people who, for example, learned to play the piano—the situation is exceedingly clear. The stimulus to learn to play is only too rarely, unfortunately, the white piano keys, or even the sounds that come from striking them.

36. THE INDIVIDUALS

While the situation as a stimulus to individual behavior is obviously a most important factor in analyzing group activity, it is after all subordinate to the individuals themselves. This may be most clearly seen through an endeavor to analyze in terms of the situation. In 1898 the United States Battleship *Maine* was blown up in Havana Harbor, and the event aroused enormous excitement throughout the United States. In 1915 an American boat, the *Evelyn*, was blown up in the North Sea and only a relatively insignificant amount of excitement ensued (T). The difference between the two situations is quite clear. The *Maine* was a naval vessel, its destruction entailed a heavy loss of life, it was the center of attention, the country was already excited over events which might have led to the destruction of the *Maine*, though the destruction itself was a complete surprise. The *Evelyn* was a commercial vessel. There was no loss of life. The destruction of that particular boat was unexpected, though the destruction of some few vessels was within the limits of probability. While the attention

of the people was attracted by the event the destruction of the Evelyn was an incident to other and greater events rather than a matter of importance in connection with what is termed national honor.

This illustrates the importance of the analysis of the situation in connection with group behavior. Yet the activity in both cases was the activity of individuals. The loss of the Maine affected people. It was people who responded, who felt, who acted. Professional politicians and actors are conversant with this aspect of life and it is their continual effort to please, to attract, to catch, to draw, to appeal. The necessity, in political campaigns, of appealing to the different groups in the population leads to local allusions in the speeches of orators who often have little first-hand knowledge about the locality. Vaudeville comedians who in Chicago refer to Milwaukee or in Milwaukee to Chicago, in Boston to Lynn, in New York to Hoboken, come to Philadelphia and talk about Camden. The character of the group, in other words, affects the situations to which it will respond. The study of the group as such seems to be the more important element in group activities.

Not only is the distinction between the situation and the character of the group in one sense artificial but in another sense it is quite impossible. At times the group is part of the situation. If we have a given group, say the girls who go to the tea-house at one time and do not at another, it is almost futile to attempt to discuss whether the difference is in the situation or in the group. From one standpoint it is the situation which is different in the two cases. From another standpoint the group is different in the two cases. If all go, it can be said that the situation is so strong that it appealed to the whole group which went. Or it can be said that the individ-

uals of the group at the moment were quite homogeneous in their feelings, tendencies and impulses, so that the response to the situation was united and positive. The very close and subtle inter-relation of the group and the situation which is the stimulus at any instant makes the dissection of the stimulus under such circumstances peculiarly impossible.

The difficulties of the problem are to a certain extent peculiar to the intimate, face-to-face and essentially sociable group. If we deal with a crowd (little more than an aggregation) that in a city gathers to watch the aftermath of an automobile collision it is simple enough to put emphasis on the situation, though the curiosity of the individuals in the crowd, etc., seems equally important. If we refer to the Hebden Bridge Fustian Cutters' Association it again seems proper to put the emphasis on the group. In such a case the situation which the individuals respond to is always more or less in existence, and the thing for investigation seems rather to be the character of the individuals who actually co-operate, and what it is about them that results in collective effort.

Perhaps the adaptation of the situation to the group may best be made clear by referring to certain illustrations. Graham Wallas in his *Life of Francis Place* begins a chapter on the first reform campaign in this way: ". . . On June 26, George IV. died. His death had been for some time expected, and politicians had been preparing themselves for the consequent general election, and the accession of a king who was understood to be a reformer. The whigs were on the lookout for a popular cry, and found it in what was known ten years later as the Condition of the People Question. . . ." (WFP. 241).

In all political work, of course, the politician takes his

populace more or less for granted and tries to find something to move it in his direction. A salesman has his "talking points" to appeal to this customer and that one, and so on. These examples of the attempt to find a shoe to fit the foot—of getting a stimulus for the population—whatever it may be, are cases where the emphasis is on the situation. None the less the interest is in the group. It is the group which makes the situation necessary. And furthermore politicians' appeals and salesmen's talking points are worse than ineffective if the individuals are not present to be appealed to. Would it not therefore be better to throw the whole discussion one way? to study the people, not with reference to some particular situation, but with respect to some interest about which the situations arise?

37. GROUP PROBLEMS

As soon as attention is confined to any particular behavior group certain questions immediately arise. Who are the individuals? Are they alike in age, sex, matters of conduct, language, culture, etc.? Are they, in other words, homogeneous? Have they many experiences about the interest in question? Or is the activity a new one? What are their relations to one another and to the activity? Is there zest, life in their behavior?

There are at least three general lines of inquiry to be pursued. The first is into what we call the character of the group under observation, its homogeneity or lack of it. The second is into the past reactions of the individuals in connection with the interest itself, or interests involving the same type of conduct. The third is into the workings of the group, the relations of the individuals to the interest and to each other.

38. GROUP HOMOGENEITY

The matter of homogeneity is suggested, perhaps, by another reference to the Hebden Bridge Fustian Cutters' Association. The Association began among "a few fustian cutters. A few fustian cutters implies certain things about the character of the individuals who were concerned. The men were engaged in the same business. They were of the same sex, nothing is indicated regarding age, and so on. Rather than deal with the question of homogeneity and its relations to group activities in this haphazard fashion it is possible to go at the problem in a somewhat more systematic form. Two aspects of activity already referred to offer lines of approach. It was recalled that behavior is a combination of inborn and acquired tendencies to respond. It was also recalled that the activities of mankind center in general about certain interests. A man has his religion, business, amusements, family life and avocation. His activities in the main center about these. The consideration of these two observations will aid in arriving at certain aspects of group homogeneity.

39. GROUP HOMOGENEITY: INBORN FACTORS

To discuss all the minute differences between the individuals in a group would be difficult, and furthermore so lengthy as to make the differences irrelevant. In general, however, it may be pointed out that people differ on the nature side in race (MA,iii), age, sex, capacities and tendencies. Racial differences are often swallowed up in the necessities of daily conduct and behavior; not only do several nationalities and colors work side by side on all large contracting jobs in this country, but occupation and religion bring not too divergent people into intimate contact when the occasion arises. The possible

or probable combinations of peoples in groups are not important. Racial differences or similarities are merely one type of differences or similarities to be looked for and observed. The same is true of age and sex. We are all more than familiar with innumerable groups which are largely age or sex groups. It is trite to say that special groups are always developing among people of given ages and sexes. The age and sex of the people in a given group, however, is something to be taken into account if the homogeneity of the group and its operation is to be considered.

The capacities and tendencies which people inherit are not as capable of precise observation and definition as are the matters of race, age and sex. The psychologists are not thoroughly settled as to just what part of our tendencies and capacities are inherited, or as to just what part of any individual's behavior tendencies and capacities are. That some individuals inherit nerve connections which facilitate some kinds of work and others others is obvious, however, from the consideration of twins and brothers and sisters brought up in the same family.

In considering the homogeneity of groups the physical appearance and characteristics of individuals do not seem to be important. As far as observation goes blonds, brunettes, long-heads and broad-heads, tall and short, stout and thin, straight-haired and curly-haired, not only belong to the same church, engage in the same business, vote the same ticket and play the same games, but they also associate together in the same intimate, face-to-face groups, or happen into the same "social" ranks.

40. GROUP HOMOGENEITY; ACQUIRED FACTORS

As soon as any attempt is made to take up matters

which involve nurture, and their effect upon conduct and the homogeneity of a group, a difficult problem must be faced (BPM, iv). What are the important aspects of nurture in which we as human beings differ among ourselves (CHN, iii)? What differences or similarities of nurture should we look for among the individuals of a group? Conduct has never been successfully divided up into a set of categories which have stood the test of time, and as it is so adaptable it is not probable that a feasible structural division of conduct will ever be developed. There are, none the less, certain modes of activity which we perceive in every individual or which are at least extremely widespread both in time and space. To these we give certain generic names such as manners, religions, amusements, governments, cultures, occupations, and so on. To pick out a set of such modes of activities, which we all display and which any individual we may specify may be expected to perform, is in some respects simple. The beginning of the list, occupation, amusement, communication, conduct, and so on, is obvious. What other aspects of behavior should also be included is open to interpretation, and by no means narrow interpretation. Any list which may be offered will have its defects or omissions, and may possibly, therefore, be charitably received. Under various headings it is possible, however, to deal with certain factors that affect the homogeneity of groups.

41. GROUP HOMOGENEITY: ACQUIRED FACTORS: CONDUCT

Perhaps the first factor to be considered is behavior, conduct itself. People not only differ in behavior and conduct, but a great deal of social life is affected by the differences or similarities. Conduct, whether arising

largely out of inherited tendencies and capacities or developed later in manners, customs and habits, is almost prepotent. The young quite frankly jeer, ridicule, or condemn the conduct of those who may be temperamentally uncongenial. Older people more or less consciously arrange their lives so that as many of the uncongenial as possible may be left out of them. The difficulty of becoming intimate with persons who are considered bad-mannered has already been referred to. Some years ago a member of a fraternity in a New England classical college persisted in blackballing a man whom the other members desired as a member. His reiterated explanation was that he did not like the outsider's eyebrows. A class of girls when asked to vote on admitting to or excluding from their immediate or intimate circle a person who differed from them in specified ways gave the following answers to the following questions (GS):

<i>Characteristic.</i>	<i>Willing to Admit.</i>	<i>Sufficient Grounds to Exclude.</i>
Difference in political affiliations.....	19	0
Difference in religion	19	0
Shabby dress due to poverty	19	0
Tactless	19	0
Easy-going	19	0
Performing manual labor	18	1
Atheist	17	2
Quick-tempered	17	2
Physically deformed	16	3
Difference in nationality	15	4
Dressing conspicuously	15	4
Smoking (women and girls)	15	4
Speech ungrammatical	14	5
Inability to write a neat or correctly-worded letter	13	6
Careless dressing	11	8
Critical attitude	10	9
Habitual borrowing	10	9

Bad table manners	7	12
Color	5	14
Stupidity	5	14
Quarrelsomeness	5	14
Continually impolite	3	16
Habitual gambling	2	17
Open advocacy of lawless measures	2	17
Frequent lying	1	18
Loud and uncouth conversation	1	18
Sneering disposition	0	19
Continual faultfinding	0	19
Personal uncleanness	0	19
Habitual intoxication	0	19
Notorious cruelty	0	19
Sexual immorality	0	19
Annoying self-assertion	0	19
Dishonesty in money matters	0	19
Vulgar conversation	0	19
Profane conversation	0	19

The great importance of conduct in our life may be illustrated in a number of other ways, though it is perhaps unnecessary to go further. To actually study the differences between people in a group in matters of conduct is not easy. It is only possible to notice whether or not they are of the same or approximately of the same "walk" of life, and also whether or not they are inclined to agree or sympathize with one another. A tendency or inclination to agree or sympathize is often the best test that can be suggested for similarities in some of the less tangible aspects of conduct. People can rarely give specific and convincing reasons for either their admirations or their antipathies. The basis of admiration and antipathy is so essentially emotional and undeliberative that we are often in the position of the fraternity undergraduate who could only say that he did not like the outsider's eyebrows. The class of girls accumulated 213 examples of people whom they admired. Some of the reasons for the admiration were stated as follows:

Because those admired are all-round good sports.

All-around splendiddness, strong character, loving, honorable and high-minded ; womanliness and sweetness of character ; straightforward, wise, interesting, honorable, purposeful.

Good comradeship or their ability to *do* things worth while.

No special reason.

(a) Good mind and intelligent attitude in general.

(b) High moral standards.

(c) Sympathy and regard for others.

(d) High courage and fortitude.

(e) Nice personal habits and good taste in general.

(f) Efficiency and determination.

(g) Generally "human" and pleasant attitude, adaptability.

Lack of egotism, kindness, personal attractiveness in manners and looks.

Simply GREAT! No particular reason, probably because . . . is a combination of all the qualities which appeal to *me* as being the finest.

Most are because of temperamental reasons.

Never thought about the reasons. Many people have the same mental and physical strength and yet I can't say I like them. Something I can't explain arouses my admiration for these three persons.

Chiefly because they really amount to something and can really do things.

The same people accumulated a list of 85 who were "unendurable." The answers to the question of why were they unendurable are in some case more specific. A few of them are given :

There is not only a temperamental reason for my not liking them, but certain traits in their characters, certain views along certain lines, are so radically different from mine that I can't stand them.

Because they are social climbers.

Appearance and manner.

Personal habits.

Just can't stand so and so, no particular reason.

Personal uncleanness, boobishness, boorishness, boredom, selfishness, too aggressive, stupidity, too much stability, too easily influenced (by every different person), too mercenary.

Conceit, pettiness, certain mannerisms, mechanical.

One makes me nervous.

(a) Affectation.

(b) Egotistical tendency to use everyone and everything for personal advantages.

(c) Hypocritical attitude of cheerfulness and desire to force this upon everyone else.

Because of some definite flaw in their moral conduct.

With an effort I can endure everyone that I know so far.

Meddling in other people's business.

Activity is thus much influenced by conduct itself; only vague tests for the amount of homogeneity in conduct seem to exist. At the same time the course of a group often shows whether or not the homogeneity exists, though the people in the group or the observers outside can not put their fingers upon the precise reason for failure or for success.

42. GROUP HOMOGENEITY: ACQUIRED FACTORS: COMMUNICATION

While conduct is perhaps an ambiguous term to use in describing the subtle aspect of behavior, we have relatively definite terms when we deal with other aspects of behavior that affect group homogeneity. Communication is perhaps one of the foremost of these, and it is furthermore relatively simple to observe. The members of any sociable or co-operating group must communicate, whether by gestures, motions, signs, speech or writing. Customarily communication is taken for granted, for

groups rarely comprise people who do not speak the same language (MA,v) or use the same signs. Occasionally, however, the same word or sign may carry different meanings to different people, or may mean nothing to some and something definite to others.' This is true where differences of experience exist.

Such a case is well illustrated in some of the foreign quarters of our great cities. There the common daily experiences of eating, sleeping, petty money affairs, and so on, at times form the only experiences which parents and children have in common. The children speak English learned in school and on the streets. The parents speak Italian, Polish, Greek, Czech or some other language, often being too old to adapt themselves to the new language. As a consequence investigators and social workers find families in which the parents and children can communicate only about the daily household and continually recurring necessities. It is impossible to discuss those modes of conduct which we call honorable, honest, well-mannered, religious, patriotic, moral and the rest. The children do not know the parents' words for such things, nor do the parents have any way of reaching the children with regard to them. This fact is well understood by the Bohemians and some of the other races, who maintain social centers of their own in which the children learn the native language, customs, amusements and laws, history and traditions of the parents. While the native language and customs are sometimes incongruous in a metropolitan environment, the mutual understanding and respect in families where the parents and children do have common vocabularies extending beyond "grub," "job," "money" and "boob" can be felt as soon as a visitor enters the door.

The same phenomena are also illustrated in the acad-

emic world, where high specialization in work often leads to a high and sometimes almost extraordinary specialization of terminology. In different fields or in the same field two authorities use different words for the same phenomena, or the same word for different phenomena. And when the word is substituted for the phenomena, as it too frequently is, it acts as a catalyser or fertilizer for bitter controversies.

Communication is then another source of homogeneity in a group, and as a communication is a simply observed mode of behavior it is in many cases a serviceable test of homogeneity.

43. GROUP HOMOGENEITY: ACQUIRED FACTORS : EFFECT OF ENVIRONMENT

Side by side with communication may be put the effect of environment. All people live in some environment or another. Though it would be pendent to speak of environmental behavior, an individual's conduct is adapted to the environment in which the individual lives. Individuals from different environments differ not only in dialect and interpretation but in habits and abilities. The negroes of the Niger Protectorate who are scarcely able to walk up or down stairs are perhaps extreme examples. They serve to illustrate in what manner environment may be used as an index of the homogeneity in groups. While all the members of a group at the moment may be in the same environment it is little evidence that they always have been or that they can deal with that environment competently. They may, by habit and adjustment, be suited to some environment, but not the one in which they are. To use environment as one point of view from which to observe the members of a group is obviously, then, to use it largely as an index of habit,

custom and ability, rather than as an innate feature of activity.

44. GROUP HOMOGENEITY: ACQUIRED FACTORS: CONTINUED

Conduct, communication and environment are not the only aspects under which behavior may be studied. They are three aspects, quite universal ones, under which the members of a group may or may not be homogeneous. Other and perhaps unquestioned modes can be as easily named. Religion, occupation, and amusement are three more. In addition there are occasions when politics and education, either in the narrow sense of schooling or in the broad sense of culture, or in both, would be as valuable. The *a priori* selection of the modes of behavior under which people are to be observed is arbitrary. Perhaps investigation and actual study on a large scale will show some of the aspects named to be useless and others not mentioned essential. Differences of race, age, sex, capacities, tendencies, conduct, communication, environment, religion, occupation, amusement, politics and education whether in the broad or narrow sense, are at least some of the important modes of activity in which people may differ. Not only some people but all people differ in them. So the selection of these items, though tentative, has justification.

45. GROUP HOMOGENEITY: USE OF THE FACTORS

To give concrete evidence of the kind of information which the topics yield is simple. After deciding to employ the particular topics listed a preliminary study was made with chance groups. The gathering of a crowd at any fire, accident, fight, wreck or any unusual occurrence, is often studied. Such groups, since they

quickly gather and as quickly evanesce, are not favorable for detailed study. Only rarely do they leave much of an impression in the memory. What impression they do leave, however, is put down in the following recollections of such groups :

Fire in a large building in shopping district.

A. Race. I remember noting Germans, Italians, negroes, Chinamen and whites who were probably of other and mixed nationalities.

B. Age. People of all ages from children in arms to very old people. Sex. More boys and men than girls and women.

C. Environment. Every sort of environment was represented. People motoring through stopped and the people who were on the electric cars, walking, or who lived in nearby alleys came out to see the fire.

C. Conduct. People were crowded but on the whole orderly and considerate of each other. A few rough men and women were noisier than the others and now and then caused a disturbance by starting and pushing, but were soon silenced by the others.

E. Communication. People addressed questions and remarks freely to each other, though they had never met before. They noticed where other people were looking and looked at the same part of the building to see what was happening.

When very high flames arose, etc., everyone started or gasped at the same time, so that it was evident all were attending to the same events. Police, engines, etc., were summoned by means of the telephone and came quickly by motorcycle and automobile.

F. Every sort of occupation practically was represented, manual labor, civil service, trade, manufacturing, agriculture, professions.

G. Religion. There was no means of knowing about the religion but I should say that all stages of religion and irreligion were represented.

H. Amusement. As it was Sunday most of the people who had gathered to watch, apart from those vitally interested in the building, had been out taking the air. Quite a few of the people in automobiles had come from a tennis match at the Country Club, while others had just been riding in the country. Many people were riding on the street cars or were returning from the band concert at the amusement park. Quite a few of the poorer people, especially young boys and girls, had been walking up and down the main business street of the town, which was half a block from the burning building.

I. Government. All were subject to the government of the United States but probably held widely varying opinions about it.

J. Education. Some people there could neither read, write or follow a trade, while others had all the advantages which colleges and professional training, travel and wealth could bring, and there were various intermediate stages represented.

While everyone knows that people of all kinds and conditions run to fires, the actual observance of the different people with respect to various factors may eventually lead to some significant generalizations. It is to be hoped so. In this case there is nothing noteworthy, unless it be that more males than females were present. Yet one can not resist feeling that the occasion was quite different from the following, and because the people themselves were different in the two cases.

With more than ten persons I have rushed down the street to see a house on fire.

1. A few members of the group were related as brothers and sisters.

2. The occupation of the members of the group unknown.

3. Although most of the group probably came from the same neighborhood the environment was varied.

4. The majority of the group held Christianity as their religion.

5. Both sexes were there. Ages ran from about six to sixty.

6. All lived under the same government. In this case, however, no influence of government was apparent.

7. All members of the group were educated or being educated, in the narrow sense.

8. The majority of the group were the type of people who are accustomed to having some kind of amusement. Probably most of them had gathered at the fire for the sake of amusement.

9. The conduct of the group was of two kinds. Some were running around to see if they could help the firemen. Others stood by talking and watching.

Though both situations, in the narrowest sense, were fires, the difference between the two occasions, the people and the situations, is to a certain extent clear (GS). In this connection it should be recalled that the relation of the factors in group homogeneity to other features of behavior has not been suggested. Emphasis is upon group homogeneity or heterogeneity alone. A possible way of arriving at some conception of that is all that is being sought. In this connection it is pertinent to offer two more observations:

Group at fire-drill considered in respect to:

1. Race. All Americans through several generations, except one German.

2. Age and Sex. All females between the ages of sixteen and twenty-eight.

3. Environment. While at college environment the same.

4. Conduct. A "lady-like" group, also "well-mannered."

5. Communication. While at college, living together; i. e., with very close communication.

6. Occupation (economic). None, with the exception of a small minority which works its way through.

7. Religion. Mostly Christian and Protestant and Presbyterian.
8. Amusement. While at college amusements much the same.
9. Government. While at college under control of same nation, state, municipality and self-government.
10. Education. All studying at the same college.

The last is the very different occasion described in this observation:

1. Fist-fight. Two negro women were fighting on the street and moved from one place to another. The crowd followed them.

1. Negro and white.
2. Children and men of various ages. Few women.
3. Business street in central Philadelphia.
4. Children jeered, men laughed, followed them, however.
5. Shouts laughter and jeers were the only signs of communication.
6. Business people doing nothing.
7. Jews and Christians.
8. It seemed to be the amusement of some of the people to watch the fight.
9. Government seemed to be lax since no officer was on hand to prevent the fight.
10. The crowd seemed, from the pleasure it took, not to be at all well educated.

46. EFFECT OF RELATED PAST EXPERIENCE

The second general line of inquiry, it was said, was to be into the past reactions of the individuals in connection with the interest itself, or interests involving the same type of conduct. On one side this question could lead into a discussion of the relation of all conduct to past activity. This would be a fascinating study in which

many years could be spent. It is simple, however, to point out the influence of past conduct in a narrow sense.

We all know that the past experience of boys in baseball greatly affects the character of the activities that go on when in the spring boys begin to play the game on the streets or in the vacant lots. Many know of the effect of past experience with cards, or rather the lack of it, upon a card game. Such simple illustrations of the effect of the past experience of individuals upon the present course of group behavior are common. Past experience has its results in serious co-operative undertakings as well. In Catherine Webb's description of the efforts of the workingmen pioneers of co-operative distribution in England there is this paragraph:

"None of the societies, however, appeared to have obtained any great or prolonged success. The difficulties in the way of Association at that time were undoubtedly great. The absence of education among the workers . . . and the general inexperience of the workers in the technicalities of buying and selling . . . render it a matter for little surprise that very few of the societies survived . . ." (WIC, 59).

The unfamiliarity of the early co-operators with the mere machinery of buying and selling was frequently the cause of downfall (LCC, 18 etc.). Their attempts to work together rather than for some one to which they were accustomed, did not go smoothly (LCC, 20, 92; PC, 14). In general the co-operators had to gain experience, and hard experience, before they eventually succeeded as brilliantly as they did (cf. DTE, 342 f.). Henry D. Lloyd in his book on *Labor Copartnership* quotes Sybella Gurney's *Sixty Years of Co-operation* to this effect:

"It required the growth of a better generation,—a

generation trained in the store, friendly society and trades-union movements, as well as at school, before a large measure of success could be achieved" (p. 223).

And Lloyd himself on page 235 remarks:

"The First Condition of co-operative success, as the Rev. Dr. Maurice has pointed out, is mutual confidence; and that is a plant of slow growth, and one of almost imperceptible growth, where people have no opportunity to know each other."

It is not necessary to multiply indefinitely instances which show the importance of past experience in connection with the interest itself, or interests involving the same type of conduct. It may be asked, however, why it is that this aspect of behavior is not taken up as a sub-head under homogeneity rather than as a separate matter in itself. If people must have experience in what they are doing in order to succeed are they not homogeneous in that respect?

Certainly, but on the other hand it is not necessary for everyone concerned in a co-operative store to be competent to buy or sell for the store, or to manage it. The relation of the people in a group to one another has not been taken up; still it is not necessary to prove that in every group different people do different things. It is not now a question of whether or not people are or are not like one another, but a question of their competence at carrying on the activity. It may be that the matter of competence at carrying on the activity is a necessary factor in observing aspects of homogeneity. But whether it is or not, it is also a necessary factor in carrying on the activity, given all the homogeneity that one would ask for. The individuals may be homogeneous in incompetence and everything else and fail because of their homogeneity.

47. RELATION OF INDIVIDUALS TO THE INTEREST

The third and last general line for inquiry is into the relations of the individuals to the interest and to each other. The relations of individuals to an interest may be divided up conveniently into three different types of relations (GS). There are those who feel, those who not only feel but who also have ideas about what should be done about their feelings. There are thirdly those who not only feel and have ideas but who further go ahead and do something.

To say that there are three general types of relations of individuals to the interest does not mean that all three types exist in every group. If we have a neighborhood aggregation of children and it is winter there may be a general feeling that it would be fun to slide down hill. Some will have suggestions of where to go, how to get sleds, and so on. Others will actually start for a place to slide down the hill or to get their sleds, etc. That all eventually do so does not mean that all have the same relation to the interest. As soon as some one starts to act, and does so in a way which receives attention, a situation is created (TSB, 13f) which the others must themselves do something about; they must follow or not follow. Because they then act does not mean that their relation to the interest is the same as that of those whose actions created the crisis (GS).

The group of children is of course one where all three types of relation exist. If we should take the group when it had reached the hill and was sliding it might be difficult to divide the people up into the three types, though again observation might show which was which. If we take a small group of people playing cards it is easy to find instances in which it would not be profitable to attempt to divide them into three classes.

48. RELATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS TO INTEREST :

CO-OPERATIVE STORES.

All groups involving large numbers have the three types well marked. Today the people who have feelings about certain social inadequacies of the industrial system are legion. The people who have remedies to propose are fewer, though they are almost legion in themselves. But those who are actually ready to go ahead and do something are comparatively few. The socialists have a theory whose application they believe in, but which they are unable to apply on a large scale, at least for the present.

In two cases, in fact in many more, a small group of socialists have decided that they should cease preaching, give up the propaganda of the word, and commence the propaganda of the deed. In the two cases the propaganda of the deed did not mean bombs and violence but object-lessons in doing on a small scale what the socialist program stands for on a large scale. In both the practical working-out of the feeling that collective ownership and co-operative management was desirable took the form of a co-operative store. One case is that of the Citizens' Co-operative Supply Company of Schenectady, New York; the other is that of the West New York Co-operative Store of West New York, New Jersey.¹

¹ I have visited both stores, talked with the leaders, obtained what printed information was available, and endeavored to study the social aspects of the stores. By this I do not mean the sociable aspects of the relations of the owners and purchasers at the store, for they are all the same individuals. Instead I refer to the relations of the individuals to their interest, to each other and to their past interests. I endeavored, in so far as was possible in a limited time and without prying into personal matters, to see what I could of the actual social workings of the stores. In the case of Schenectady I am particularly indebted to R. K. Wilson, A. W. Grier, and to the unfailing courtesy and interest of

The reasons for selecting co-operative stores are plain, In the first place the individuals composing them are easily reached; not only are they doing something new and different, but they are proud of what they are doing. In the second place the novel character of the efforts, the new questions continually arising and the distinctive collective character of the undertakings makes problems and their solutions and the biographies of the efforts topics of continual interest and discussion. The methods, in other words, have not yet become institutionalized or customary. In the third place the natural pride of the successful pioneer still further facilitates the gathering of facts.

49. RELATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS TO THE INTEREST: SCHENECTADY AND WEST NEW YORK

In both cases the particular individuals who actually proposed taking off their coats and going to work, and who were actually willing to spend their time and effort in so doing, were few. They were some of a much larger number; the larger body had definite feelings about the economic and social regime, and most of them had a theory to apply to the regime as a whole. The few who finally commenced the co-operative undertakings were those of the many who agreed that a practical example, however humble, was better than none at all. There were also those who believed that only through experience and earnest endeavor could any enduring change come (C).

others whom I met. In West New York I am indebted to W. A. Kraus, and as well to men and women of the store. One cannot have the most passing relations with members of stores like these without wishing that he were himself engaged in social and economic pioneering rather than in the observation of it.

In Schenectady some of the men were personally familiar with the English and Scotch co-operative systems, while in West New York "an account taken from one of the current magazines" (KA) about the success of co-operation abroad furnished the direct stimulus.

The problem of actively interesting enough people whose general feelings were more or less the same as those of the leaders had to be faced in both instances. While an humble store does not require much capital nor many customers, the surplus capital and purchasing power of four or five clerks and mechanics is not sufficient to float an enterprise. In West New York Kraus states:

"The first thing we did was to pass the copy of the magazine article we had read among our friends and in that way interest them in the enterprise. After about a month of this kind of missionary work among our friends, and having received promises of support of more than an hundred of them to take part, . . . we decided to call a meeting for the purpose" of organizing a store. "Circular letters were sent to those who had promised to take part in the enterprise; newspaper notices were published and a speaker engaged to outline the work" (KA).

In Schenectady, where there was a socialist mayor and many schemes were underway for collective or public enterprises, dodgers were printed advertising meetings in school houses at night. R. K. Wilson and J. Bellingham spoke at the meetings, explaining distributive co-operation, its success in England, Scotland and Scandinavia, and trying to obtain pledges to purchase shares in a trial store (C).

The difficulty in both Schenectady and West New York in obtaining capital and members at the start illustrates an interesting aspect of behavior. While there

were members in both towns with feelings about economic and political questions there were very few with feelings about co-operative stores; at least feelings other than of doubt, uncertainty and caution when in the face of something new.

"In West New York," Kraus continues, "the expectation of a large enthusiastic attendance was uppermost in our minds, but great was our surprise when after waiting for more than an hour and a half after the appointed time, we found only the eight who had planned to start the organization present, besides one stranger. The speaker even had been detained somewhere" (KA).

In Schenectady the school meetings were held in the evening, and sometimes there would be only the janitor and one other man present, besides the speakers (C).

That the stores were started in both cities with few members and on an extremely modest scale is not only a token to the perseverance and enthusiasm of the promoters, but it is one to the emotional basis of our conduct. The co-operative store had no emotional appeal, one way or the other, to the companions of the leaders. It did not fill a definite need, for there were already stores in which to buy, sometimes on credit, and without the bother or expense of subscribing capital or worrying over the success or failure of an incipient enterprise.

It is interesting to note that in both cases the movement grew in a healthy fashion once the first steps were taken. Those whose feelings led them to respond to the new situation were of two kinds, however (KA, C). One kind were the merely curious, and once their curiosity was satisfied they resorted to the privately-owned store. The other kind were those who were genuinely interested in a co-operative store, not only because of

possible economies but because of their belief in co-operative enterprises and their willingness to work for them.

The various methods of conducting the stores were often of concern, but fortunately the co-operative movement today has sufficient literature on business methods and accounting to make it possible for new stores to escape most pitfalls. Furthermore in the case of Schenectady many of the co-operators were personally familiar with the stores in Europe, while in West New York men who were interested in co-operation and who had experience with it in this country were close at hand and ready to assist.¹

50. PRESTIGE

In connection with the relation of individuals to one another and to the interest there is but one further thing to call attention to at present. That is the prestige which comes to a group through successful coöperation or collective effort (PSM, 80). The phenomenon is perhaps not different from the attitude of the members of the primitive hordes towards other hordes and from what degenerates into Chauvinism (SF, 13f). The pride which a successful team takes in its own efforts and victories, the pride which the students, faculty, alumni and trustees take in their own institution, are one side of the prestige. Pride in successfully working with others is something more than gregariousness. The people in an audience at the theatre do not have it. It is the actors on the stage who feel their own smoothly working, successful co-operation. If the people in the audience feel a part of it, it is not because they are in the theatre together but because in the French sense they have assisted at the performance by attending, hearing and understanding.

¹ Emerson P. Harris, of Montclair, N. J., and others.

VII. THE SOCIAL GROUP AND SOCIETY

51. RELATIONS BETWEEN GROUPS

WITHOUT doubt other factors will be found worth taking up in connection with groups, with what groups do, and with how they work. The homogeneity of the group; that is, the similarities of the individuals responding; their past experience with the same or similar interests; and the relations of the individuals who are in the group to each other and to the interest, are three matters which affect the course of activity within the group. Prestige, the emotional appeal of the interest to those who feel, and still more the action of those who think, are likewise factors of importance in the group individuals' behavior.

None of these questions touches upon the general relation of groups to each other. Society as the relation of the groups to each other through the different behavior of different individuals is a simple behavioristic interpretation. It has already been referred to under the head of group interlocking. It seems only fair, however, to postpone a study of the complex problem of relations beyond the group until something more has been done with the problem of the single group. It can hardly be doubted that an individual's activities which are not responses in connection with the specific group under discussion influence the individual's feelings, thoughts and actions in the group. Similarly the action in connection with the interest affects other action. To deny this would be to deny habit formation and all its ramifications. Therefore it may be held

that society is something more than a lot of interlocked groups.

If interlocking is taken in the mechanical sense in which it works at a four-track crossover, it is unquestionably inadequate. People are people, however, and if we remember that as they respond to one situation, then another, they are still the same people with a little more past behavior thrown in, it may not be so far wrong to consider society as the interlocking of groups.

51. BEHAVIOR AND THE SOCIAL MIND

In the same way all the phenomena which lie hidden behind the words social mind have a genuine basis as phenomena. They too are behavior. It is easy, as well as traditional, to talk about a social mind. It saves going to the phenomena, finding out what they are and studying them. The social mind bears the same relation to social behavior that the proverb "all that goes up must come down" bore to the laws of motion before Newton formulated them. "All that goes up must come down" is an easy catch phrase, is just as true as can be, and it took a Newton to go behind it and find what the things that went "up" did and how they came "down."

To follow the development of the behavior of a babe towards people as people, as Cooley does in parts of the chapter on "Sociability and Personal Ideas," in his *Human Nature and the Social Order* (CHN, iii), is to deal with one little corner of the phenomena which we forget, or which are too numerous to embrace, when we talk about the social mind. Yet it is a lucid exposition of what the social mind is in real phenomena, and also of the manner in which it develops.

People live and act. They are not so variable by birth. It is only in rare ages that they are so variable by training.

Sometimes we study what people do to make a living, and call it economics. At other times we stop studying what people do because they are social and talk about the social mind. To talk about the social mind and at the same time study how and what people do is confusing two issues. It may be wrong that it should be so; it would perhaps be better for mind if it everywhere meant what went on rather than what does not go on but is. When mind means "I thought he ran" it is behavior, and if we do not forget that it is thinking somebody ran, well and good. When, however, the business of thinking somebody ran becomes an absolute thought of an absolute ran which for the moment are correlated in a "personality," thinking and running have been forgotten. Metaphysics has the floor.

Similarly a "larger mind" is a far cry from the perhaps grubby facts that a lot of people eat with a fork and vote on Tuesday and say that Wall Street is a naughty place full of bogey men. As that far cry the larger mind doubtless has its place, but not if it stands between men and the discovery of what men do and how they do it.

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